

EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLISH
TEXTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg

riðe niht peowce ge feh ellen mæn
hæfde eaze ðenun gear mæza leod'z
zelazed. Spylce on cyððe ealle ge
inwið soþge þe hie ær dyuon 7 for
nyðum þolian icol don towin unlyt
þær tacen speotol syððan hilde deoþe
hond alege eawm 7 eaxe þær pær eal
gea doþe spendles swape undre gearne h

xiii

DA pær on morzen mine gearwe ymb
þa swiðe healle gindunc monz ferdon
folc tozan feorran 7 nean seond wið
pæas pundon searpan laþe lastas
no his lif ge dal sawlic þuhte sæga
ænigum þara þe twi leasf twode
searwode bi he pæs inod on pæs þanon
wita of ge cumen on inreft mepe faze
7 se flymed fæorþ lastas þær dæ
pær on blode þum pælcende atol gda
ge sping eal ge menzed: hie on heolfe

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Donald G. Scragg, Professor of Anglo-Saxon Studies at the University of Manchester and Director of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, is renowned as one of the world's leading scholars in the field of Old English Literature and Language. It is the aim of this collection of essays by senior colleagues to honour him for his work and dedication to Anglo-Saxon Studies. In addition to honouring Professor Scragg, the volume provides an interdisciplinary view of the production, dissemination, and use of written texts in England before the Conquest, and in the centuries following it. It will be an invaluable contribution to the current scholarly debate in this area of early medieval culture. These original essays include work on the sources and dissemination of prose and verse texts, on palaeography, lexicography and semantics, the editing of manuscripts, and post-Conquest use of Old English texts. It will be essential reading for scholars and advanced students in the fields of Old English and early medieval literature and language, history, palaeography, and reception studies, and for general readers interested in texts of the pre- and post-Conquest periods.





EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLISH
TEXTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE
TEXTS AND STUDIES

VOLUME 252





Professor Donald G. Scragg

EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLISH
TEXTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg

edited by

Elaine Treharne & Susan Rosser

Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
Tempe, Arizona
2002

● Copyright 2002
Arizona Board of Regents for Arizona State University

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Early medieval English texts and interpretations : studies presented to Donald G. Scragg / edited by Elaine Treharne & Susan Rosser.

p. cm. — (Medieval & Renaissance texts & studies ; v. 252)

Includes index.

ISBN 0-86698-295-7 (alk. paper)

1. English literature — Old English, ca. 450-1100 — History and criticism. 2. English literature — Old English, ca. 450-1100 — Criticism, Textual. I. Treharne, Elaine M. II. Rosser, Susan, 1970- . III. Scragg, D. G. IV. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies (Series) ; v. 252.

PR176.E25 2003

829.09--dc21

2003040342



This book is made to last.
It is set in Goudy, smyth-sewn,
and printed on acid-free paper
to library specifications.

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

Preface	xi
<i>Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser</i>	
Acknowledgements	xiii
Contributors	xiv
Donald G. Scragg: Major Publications	xv
Abbreviations	xviii

INFLUENCES AND INTERPRETATIONS

North-Sea Soundings in <i>Andreas</i>	1
<i>Roberta Frank</i>	
Ælfric as Grammarian: The Evidence of his <i>Catholic Homilies</i>	13
<i>Malcolm Godden</i>	
Ælfric's <i>Sanctorale</i> and the Benedictional of Æthelwold	31
<i>Mechthild Gretsch</i>	
Ælfric's Authorities	51
<i>Joyce Hill</i>	
" <i>frater non redimit, redimet homo . . .</i> ": A Homiletic Motif and its Variants in Old English	67
<i>Patrizia Lendinara</i>	
Horror in <i>Beowulf</i> : Mutilation, Decapitation and Unburied Dead	81
<i>Gale R. Owen-Crocker</i>	

<i>Interpretationes in latinum: Some Twelfth-Century Translations of Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> <i>Alexander R. Rumble</i>	101
<i>"Hende" Words in Laȝamon's Brut: The Editing and Transmission of Texts</i> <i>Carole Weinberg</i>	119
THE EDITING AND TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS	
<i>Editions of Alfred: The Wages of Un-influence</i> <i>Paul E. Szarmach</i>	135
<i>Book Divisions and Chapter Headings in the Translations of the Alfredian Period</i> <i>Janet Bately</i>	151
<i>The Passion of St Christopher: An Edition</i> † <i>Phillip Pulsiano</i>	167
<i>Two Readings in the Guthlac Homily</i> <i>Jane Roberts</i>	201
<i>Be Heofonwarum 7 be Helwarum: A Complete Edition</i> <i>Loredana Teresi</i>	211
<i>More Old English Poetry in Vercelli Homily XXI</i> <i>Charles D. Wright</i>	245
<i>An Edition of Ælfric's Letter to Brother Edward</i> <i>Mary Clayton</i>	263
<i>The Transmission of Ælfric's Letter to Sigefyrth and the Mutilation of London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv</i> <i>Jonathan Wilcox</i>	285
<i>Ælfric's Schooldays</i> <i>Michael Lapidge</i>	301

On Editing Wulfstan <i>Andy Orchard</i>	311
The Cotton-Corpus Legendary into the Twelfth Century: Notes on Salisbury Cathedral Library MSS 221 and 222 <i>Joana Proud</i>	341
William L'Isle's Letters to Sir Robert Cotton <i>Timothy Graham</i>	353
Index	381

PREFACE

Donald G. Scragg, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the Department of English at the University of Manchester, has inspired generations of scholars throughout the five decades in which he has been teaching. Some of his many former students are involved in this volume, including Joana Proud, Jon Wilcox, Elaine Treharne, and Susan Rosser, and together with a number of his friends and colleagues, we are delighted to offer the essays in this volume to show our appreciation for the significant contribution Don Scragg has made to the discipline of Old English. He is a world leader in many different facets of Anglo-Saxon studies, but is particularly renowned for his work in the fields of editing, manuscript studies, homiletic and hagiographic prose, and *The Battle of Maldon*. Coupled with his outstanding research is his energy and dedication to his subject. He founded The Teachers of Old English in Britain and Ireland to bring practitioners together at a time when Old English was felt by many to be in jeopardy; he has been a major driving force in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England* project, gaining funding and international recognition for the invaluable work of this collaborative endeavour; and he established the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, which continues to benefit from his leadership. This world-class Centre has provided not only an academic home for the flourishing Old English postgraduate community in Manchester, but has also consistently afforded opportunities to exceptional international scholars to present the annual Toller Lecture (including contributors in this volume: Janet Bately, Roberta Frank, Mechthild Gretsch, Joyce Hill, and Michael Lapidge) and to attend the numerous successful conferences arranged under its aegis.

In addition, Don Scragg has contributed his expertise to a number of other major projects and publications; he is, for example, the Co-Director of a new, important Research Project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board investigating The Spelling and Script of Eleventh-Century English Manuscripts. He is also an Associate Editor for *Anglo-Saxon England*, and is involved in the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture project. The latter collaborative project is co-ordinated by Professor Paul E.

Szarmach of the International Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. This Institute hosts the annual International Congress on Medieval Studies every May, at which Don Scragg organises sessions on behalf of the Richard Rawlinson Centre. Many colleagues will have met Don at Kalamazoo (he is rumoured to be one of a select group who have never missed a Congress); have had the opportunity to initiate projects with him there; and will, of course, recall his characteristic enthusiasm for the Saturday Night Dance, from which he is invariably one of the last to leave.

The essays in this volume share a common aim: to honour Don Scragg's scholarship, intellectual generosity, and friendship. The contributions centre on Don Scragg's specialisms: namely, editing and the transmission of texts, source studies, and interpretations of Old and transitional English poetry and prose. Written by some of the leading scholars in Anglo-Saxon studies, this volume is a fitting tribute to the commitment, erudition, and vision that Don Scragg has shown and continues to show in all aspects of his professional life, and for which we thank him.

Elaine Treharne & Susan Rosser

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors wish to thank the contributors for their patience during the production of this volume; and we wish to thank Mrs Angie Kendall in the Department of English at the University of Leicester for her invaluable help in preparing the manuscript in its final stages of production. Both editors are grateful for the assistance of Professor Robert Bjork, Roy Rukila, and the team at MRTS in bringing this project to fruition.

CONTRIBUTORS

Janet Bately, King's College, London

Mary Clayton, University College, Dublin

Roberta Frank, Yale University

Malcolm Godden, University of Oxford

Timothy Graham, Western Michigan University

Mechthild Gretsche, University of Göttingen

Joyce Hill, University of Leeds

Michael Lapidge, Notre Dame University, Indiana

Patrizia Lendinara, University of Palermo

Andy Orchard, University of Toronto

Gale Owen-Crocker, University of Manchester

Joana Proud, University of Manchester

† Phillip Pulsiano, Villanova University

Jane Roberts, King's College, London

Susan Rosser, University of Manchester

Alexander R. Rumble, University of Manchester

Paul E. Szarmach, Western Michigan University

Loredana Teresi, University of Palermo

Elaine Treharne, University of Leicester

Carole Weinberg, University of Manchester

Jonathan Wilcox, University of Iowa

Charles D. Wright, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

DONALD G. SCRAGG:
MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

1966. "Old English *Bryt* in the Vercelli Book," *Notes and Queries* 211, 168-69.
1970. "Initial H in Old English," *Anglia* 88, 165-96.
1971. "Accent Marks in the Old English Vercelli Book," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 72, 699-710.
1973. "The Compilation of the Vercelli Book," *Anglo-Saxon England* 2, 189-207.
1973. rev. ed. *Spelling*, ed. George Henry Vallins, London.
1974. *A History of English Spelling*, Manchester.
1976. rev. ed. *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. E. V. Gordon, Manchester.
1977. "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX: Its Sources, its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and its Style," *Anglo-Saxon England* 6, 197-211.
1977. "Old English *Forhtleasness*, *Unforhtleasness*," *Notes and Queries* 222, 399-400.
1979. "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before Ælfric," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8, 223-77.
1981. ed. *The Battle of Maldon*, Manchester.
1985. "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, Cambridge, 299-316.
1986. "'The Devil's Account of the Next World' Revisited," *American Notes and Queries* 24, 107-10.
1989. ed. *Superstition and Popular Medicine in Anglo-Saxon England*, Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies.
1989. ed., with M. Deegan, *Medicine in Early Medieval England*, Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies.
1991. "The Nature of Old English Verse," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge, Cambridge, 55-70.
1991. ed. *The Battle of Maldon* 991. Oxford.

1992. "An Old English Homilist of Archbishop Dunstan's Day," in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Korhammer, K. Reichl, and H. Sauer, Woodbridge, 181-92.
1992. "Spelling Variations in Eleventh-Century England," in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2, Stamford, 347-54.
1992. ed. *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o.s. 300. London.
1993. "An Introduction to *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*," *Old English Newsletter* 26.3 Appendix B, 1-8.
1994. ed., with P. Szarmach, *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, Woodbridge.
1994. "Postscript: Quo Vadis Editio?" in *The Editing of Old English*, 299-309.
1994. "The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. P. Szarmach, Albany, NY, 209-30.
1994. with E. Treharne, "Appendix: The Three Anonymous Lives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. P. Szarmach, Albany, NY, 231-34.
1995. "The Bible in *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77:3, 199-203.
1997. "Wifcyþpe and the Morality of the Cynewulf and Cyneheard Episode in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately*, ed. Jane Roberts, Janet Nelson, and Malcolm Godden, Cambridge, 179-85.
1997. "Source Study," in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, Cambridge, 39-58.
1997. "Vercelli Codex" and "Vercelli-Homilien," in *Lexicon des Mittelalters* 8, ed. H. Sauer, Munich, 1497.
1998. "Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162," in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne, Aldershot, 71-84.
1998. "Towards a New Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records," in *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, ed. S. Keefer and K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, Cambridge, 67-77.
1998. *Dating and Style in Old English Composite Homilies*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 9, Cambridge.

1998. "The Battle of Maldon," "Vercelli Book," "Vercelli Homilies," in *Medieval England: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, M. T. Tavormina, and J. T. Rosenthal, London and New York, 107-8, 755-56.
1999. with M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, ed. *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford.
2000. with C. Weinberg, ed. *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 29, Cambridge.
2000. "Introduction," in *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, 1-21.
2000. "An Unpublished Vernacular Exhortation from Post-Conquest England and its Manuscript Context," in *Essays on An Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Dr Lynne Grundy*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson, King's College London Medieval Series 17, London, 511-24.
2001. "Old English Secular Prose," in P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne, ed., *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, Oxford, 268-80.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AASS *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Société des Bollandistes (Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, 1643–)
- ASE *Anglo-Saxon England*
- ASPR *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, 6 vols., ed. George Krapp and Elliot van Kirk Dobbie (New York and London, 1931–1953)
- BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Société des Bollandistes (Brussels, 1898–1901)
- Clemones,
CH 1 Peter Clemones, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series. Text*, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford, 1997)
- CPG *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard and J. Noret, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1998)
- CPL *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, 3rd ed. (Turnhout, 1995)
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
- EETS Early English Text Society
 o.s. Original Series
 s.s. Supplementary Series
- HBS Henry Bradshaw Society
- Godden,
CH 2 Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text*, EETS s.s. 5 (London, 1979)
- Ker,
Catalogue N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957; repr. with Supplement, 1990)

- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne,
162 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866)
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne,
221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864)
- Pope, *Sup-* John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collec-*
plementary *tion*, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 259, 260 (London, 1967-1968)
Homilies

INFLUENCES
AND
INTERPRETATIONS

ROBERTA FRANK

North-Sea Soundings in *Andreas*

THE ANDREAS POET'S CANNIBALIZING of other Old English verse has seemed tasteless, overdone, and, above all, botched.¹ His composition serves up a gallimaufry of previously loved formulae, sound bites chewed on, flaunted, but not always fully digested. Apparent borrowings from *Beowulf* and from the four signed poems of Cynewulf run into the hundreds.² The apocryphal tale the Anglo-Saxon author tells may have come from the exotic Mediterranean, but his diction remains determinedly

¹ Kenneth R. Brooks, ed., *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1961), notes "tasteless and inapposite", "ludicrous", "clumsy", "bizarre", "incongruous", and "lacking in invention." Quotations from *Andreas* in this essay are from George Philip Krapp, ed., *The Vercelli Book*, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* 2 (New York and London, 1932); italics in my text indicate ASPR emendations. Citations of skaldic verse are based on the transcriptions and emended texts in the standard edition of the corpus: Finnur Jónsson, ed., *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*, vols. IA-IIA (tekst efter håndskrifterne) and IB-IIIB (rettet tekst) (Copenhagen, 1908–1915; repr. 1967–1973) [hereafter *Skj.*].

² D. G. Calder, "Figurative Language and its Contexts in *Andreas*: A Study in Medieval Expressionism," in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, ed. P. R. Brown, G. R. Crampton, and F. C. Robinson (Toronto, 1986), 115–36, observes at 118: "At times *Andreas* almost seems like an anthology of formulae culled from other Anglo-Saxon poems." On the recently revived notion that the poet of *Andreas* borrowed from *Beowulf*, see Anita R. Riedinger, "The Formulaic Relationship between *Beowulf* and *Andreas*," in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period: Studies in Honor of Jess B. Bessinger*, ed. H. Damico and J. Leyerle (Kalamazoo, 1993), 283–312. Andy Orchard, "Both Style and Substance: The Case for Cynewulf," forthcoming in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. G. H. Brown and C. Karkov (2003), notes more than three hundred formulae linking *Andreas* with the four signed poems, and two hundred shared by *Beowulf* and *Andreas*.

rooted in vernacular poetics: "In any tug-of-war between native and alien traditions he was the man who moved least."³

Sometimes, behind the stylistic mannerisms and twitches of *Andreas*, the startling metaphors it lives by, the faint twang of a skald can be heard. When the English poet envisages waves as hills, hills as heads, a storm as an assault by armed warriors, or a flood as an after-hours mead-party, his imagery obeys supple rules that hardened the farther north they reached.⁴ This note, in honour of an Anglo-Saxonist whose name evokes the Vercelli Book, revisits the first poem in that manuscript from the perspective of skaldic art. Some of the idiosyncrasies of composition with which critics have charged the Old English author may mark the spots where he is exploiting his audience's familiarity with a kind of poetry now forgotten.

During the 1760s and 1770s, Thomas Percy and Thomas Warton busily promoted Old Norse verse as the *fons et origo* of contemporary, and particularly English, literature. Eighteenth-century England had persuaded itself that the "odes" of the skalds were peculiarly poetic: expressive, passionate, spontaneous, primitive, and energetic, brimming with "forcible images" and "strong paintings."⁵ Writers in late Anglo-Saxon England appear to have thought so too, prizing (or at least imitating) the diction of contemporary Scandinavian oral poets. In a Latin translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, produced between 975 and c. 983, Æthelweard interrupts his account of a Viking defeat to draw attention to a word: "There fell three of their kings in that same 'storm' (or 'battle' would be the right thing to say)."⁶ "Storm" is a natural and widespread metaphor for battle (cf. Gm. *Sturm*, OE *storm*, *scur* [of arrows]). But Æthelweard had a special interest in Old Norse names, terms, and attitudes, taking in the 990s a

³ T. A. Shippey, *Old English Verse* (London, 1972), 117. For translations of one Greek and two Latin versions of the legend, see Robert Boenig, *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature 70, series B (New York and London, 1991).

⁴ Much has been written on the special relationship between Old English and Old Norse poetry. The subject was intemperately discussed as early as 1812: see now Bjarne Fidjestøl, *The Dating of Eddic Poetry: A Historical Survey and Methodological Investigation*, ed. Odd Einar Haugen (Copenhagen, 1999), esp. 30–48.

⁵ Margaret Clunies Ross, *The Norse Muse in Britain 1750–1820* (Trieste, 1998), 45 (Thomas Percy, letter to Evan Evans of 15 October 1761).

⁶ Alistair Campbell, ed., *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London, 1962), 53: "Ibidemque ruunt reges tres eorum turbine in eodem (uel certamine dicere fas est)."

leading role in negotiations with Olaf Tryggvason. The chronicler's "turbo", especially in the context of a Viking assault at Wodnesfeld, recalls the skald's omnipresent kenning for "battle": "storm, gust, whirlwind, eddy, shower (of Odin, missiles, etc.)."⁷ Olaf Tryggvason's own court poet, Hallfreðr vandræðaskald, reels off, like a weather forecaster, *stála el* "storm of swords", *geirþeyr* "spear-gust", *naddskúr* "spear-shower", *geira hrið* "storm of spears", and *Hlakkar el* "valkyrie's storm."⁸ Before the battle at Stiklarstaðir, the skald Þórfinnr munnr declaimed a stanza portraying the imminent clash as just such a downpour: "It darkens at the great rain of the strong gusts of the shield . . . the Thunderer's [Odin's] storm" (*Skj. IA*, 315; *IB*, 292). Several hundred examples of this kenning-type are known from skaldic verse. Æthelweard, whose Latin style has been deplored, is speaking here with a Scandinavian, not a Virgilian, accent.

The chronicler, notable for his personal interventions, who recorded in the vernacular the vicissitudes of King Æthelred's reign, also had a skaldic tooth. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1003 (CDE texts), he reports that Sveinn, king of Denmark (c. 987–1014), after ravaging southern England, marched to the sea "þær he wiste his yðhengestas" [where he knew his wave-stallions [=ships] were].⁹ This was not the everyday Anglo-Saxon way of talking about a ship. The kenning "sea-horse" occurs only here in Old English prose;¹⁰ in Old English poetry it appears eighteen times, an impressive showing but outnumbered by the almost three hundred "sea-horses" running through the skaldic corpus; for example, *þldu jór* "steed of the wave", *hafsleipnir* "sea-Sleipnir", *unnvigg* "wave-horse", and *unnar*

⁷ See Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden: Ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik*, Rheinische Beiträge und Hilfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde 1 (Bonn and Leipzig, 1921; repr. Hildesheim, 1984), 176–202.

⁸ See Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis: Ordbog over det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog oprindelig forfattet af Sveinbjörn Egilsson* (Copenhagen, 1913–1916; 2nd ed. 1931; repr. 1966) [Latin original 1860], s.vv.

⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: MS D, ed. G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), 52; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. M. Swanton (London, 1996), 135. See R. I. Page, "'A Most Vile People': Early English Historians on the Vikings," *The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies* (London, 1986), 26–27.

¹⁰ Old English lexicographical information throughout this paper comes from Antonette diPaolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky, ed., *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Toronto, 1980).

hestr "horse of the wave" (= OE *yðhengest*).¹¹ Like the Viking element in late Anglo-Saxon drawings and stone carvings, the compound "wave-stallion" is an isolated detail in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, an ornament in a design that is basically non-Scandinavian. It demonstrates, nevertheless, that in certain circumstances the Anglo-Saxons were able to reach out and "quote" from the North's poetic register, plucking for their own purposes both the cornflowers of eulogy and the violas of perfect pitch.

One garland of kennings in *Andreas* may have been gathered to further an imposture, to accessorise a sailor-suit. J. R. Hall has recently drawn attention to a passage in which God, disguised as the skipper of a *sæmearh* "sea-horse" (267), asks Andrew why he wants passage:¹²

Hu gewearð þe þæs, wine leofesta,
 ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldes,
 merestreama gemet, maðmum bedæled,
 ofer cald cleofu ceoles neosan?

(307-10)

[How, dearest friend, did it befall you, that you, bereft of treasure, wished to seek "sea-mountains", the expanse of ocean-streams, to take ship over "cold cliffs"?]

Commentators have tended to take *sæbeorgas* and *cald cleofu* literally, as "sea-cliffs" and "cold headlands." Hall, improving on a reading first defended by Hertha Marquardt,¹³ has argued that these "eminences", both *sæbeorgas* and *cald cleofu*, refer to giant waves, a metaphor with parallels in classical and Christian Latin verse and in the Bible.

¹¹ On the kenning-type, see Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, 208-16. Also Karin Olsen, "Animated Ships in Old English and Old Norse Poetry," in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen (Groningen, 1997), 53-66; Hertha Marquardt, *Die altenglischen Kenningar* (Halle [Saale], 1938), 171-74.

¹² J. R. Hall, "Old English *sæbeorg*: Exodus 442a, *Andreas* 308a," *Papers on Language and Literature* 25 (1989): 127-34; also idem, "Exodus 449a: *beorhhliðu*," *American Notes and Queries* 22 (1984): 94-97. The poet does not specify Christ or Jesus (steersman in the Greek and Latin versions), but the second person of the Trinity is implied. Two of the three "sea-horses" in *Andreas* are mentioned by the Lord (*sæmearh*, 267; *brimhengest*, 513), one by Andrew in conversation with him (*sæhengest*, 488).

¹³ Marquardt, *Die altenglischen Kenningar*, 174-76.

The cited analogues, however, are either similes ("waves like a mountain") or transparent phrases ("a mountain of water", "a mountainous wave"). It is in skaldic verse, as Karin Olsen has noted, that the opaque swells of *Andreas* meet their match.¹⁴ No poetry more regularly and lovingly depicts the waves of a hostile sea as cliffs, crags, hills, peaks, and mountains. Typical skaldic kennings for "wave" include *Haka kleif* "cliff of the sea-king", *stafnklif* "prow-cliff", *Meita hliðir* "mountain-slopes of the sea-king", *skipa hlið* "mountain-slope of ships", *marfjöll* "sea-mountains", *fyllar fjöll* "mountains of the sea", *humra fjöll* "mountains of lobsters", *hvalranns gnípur* "peaks of the whale-house [=sea]", and *sægnípur* "sea-peaks".¹⁵ A stanza by the tenth-century skald Kormakr opens:

Brim gnýr, brattir hamrar
blálands Haka strandar . . .

(Skj. IA, 86; IB, 78)

[The sea roars, the steep cliffs of the shore of Haki's dark-blue land
...]

Haki is a legendary sea-king; his dark-blue land is the sea; its "shore" either the coast or the horizon, whose "steep cliffs" are high waves. As in the *Andreas* passage, the kenning for "wave" is placed in apposition to a literal sea-word, with the latter clarifying the former. Like *Andreas*, too, skaldic verse makes "chill" an attribute of undulating lands (of water); for example, *sýlð svanafold* "cold earth of swans", *svalteigr* "cold meadow", *svalheimr* "cold world". Having God speak in kennings, casually referring to his ship as a "sea-horse" and to waves as "sea-hills" and "cold cliffs", rounds off his masquerade as an old salt, an habitué of northern seas. Perhaps it is the poet of *Andreas* and not that of *Maldon* who should be credited with "the first literary use of dialect in English."¹⁶

All sorts of images in *Andreas* can become sharper when read through skaldic spectacles. The compound *nihthelm* "helmet (cover) of night" oc-

¹⁴ K. Olsen, "The Dichotomy of Land and Sea in the Old English *Andreas*," *English Studies* 79 (1998): 385-94.

¹⁵ Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, 99.

¹⁶ F. C. Robinson, "Some Aspects of the *Maldon* Poet's Artistry," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 75 (1976): 25-40, here 26; repr. in idem, *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA, 1993), 122-37, here 123.

curs five times in Old English poetry, twice in the Vercelli Book. On its second outing in *Andreas*, the formula is broken up and reassembled so as to recreate, as if by accident, a skaldic conceit. It is sunset in Mermedonia:

Niht helmade,
 brunwann oferbræd beorgas steape . . .
 (1305–1306)

[Night crowned [lit. put a helmet on] the high hills, burnished-dark
 it covered [them] . . .]

The poet turns *helm* into a verb (*helmian* “to put a helmet on [someone], crown”), thereby reanimating the cliché; he varnishes *niht* “night” with the nonce adjective *brunwann* “burnished dark”, evoking the metallic sheen of a helmet, of an iron-grey dusk (cf. *brune helmas*, *Jud* 317; *brunfagne helm*, *Beo* 2615). This night-helmet is worn high by mountains, as in the skaldic head-kenning “hill of the helmet”; for example, *hjalma klettr* “cliff of helmets”, *hjalmstofn* “helmet-stump”, *hattar fell* “hill of the hat”, and *hattar staup* “knoll of the hat.”¹⁷ A common metaphoric inventory and analogical technique form a bond between poets who almost certainly never met each other. The sky-as-helmet metaphor of *Andreas*, like the Danish hairstyle that some Anglo-Saxons were said to ape, has a northern aura whose attraction for tenth-century England remains both mysterious and undoubted.¹⁸

By 900 the Norse poets had constructed a separate language of metaphorical expression that usually depended for its decoding as much on previous knowledge and training as on a feeling for or observation of nature. When the *Andreas* poet describes the onslaught of a fierce snowstorm, he dips for inspiration into this skaldic pool. Winter is raging in Mermedonia:

¹⁷ Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, 127.

¹⁸ For sky-kennings with “helmet” as baseword, see Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, 104–6. Ælfric notes this English weakness for Danish cuts in Ethelred’s reign: Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 56. Two hundred years earlier, Alcuin had rebuked his countrymen for imitating the hairdos of the Northmen: “Ecce tonsura, quam in barbis et in capillis paganis adsimilari voluistis”: Ernst L. Dümmler, ed., *Alcuini Epistolae*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Karolini Aevi 2 (Berlin, 1895), 43. See the paper by Clayton in this volume.

Snaw eorðan band
 wintergeworpum. Weder coledon
 heardum hægelscurum, swylce hrim ond forst,
 hare hildstapan, hæleða eðel
 lucon, leoda gesetu. Land wæron freorig
 cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres þrym,
 ofer eastreamas is brycgade,
 blæce brimrade. Bliðheort wunode . . .

(1255b-1262)

[Snow bound the earth with winter-drifts; the air grew chill with fierce hail-storms; likewise rime and frost, hoary battle-stalkers, locked the homelands of men, the seats of nations. Lands were freezing with cold icicles, the might of the water congealed, ice bridged over the water-streams, the dark wave-road. Joyful in heart dwelt [Andreas] . . .]

There is no hint of this weather in the known Latin sources or in the Old English prose life of St Andrew.¹⁹ The poet revives a dead metaphor (snow binding the earth, ice fettering the sea) by personifying rime and frost. These "hoary battle-stalkers", a nonce compound based on the formula-type *har hilderinc* "grey battle-warrior", silently and by night imprison land and water.²⁰ In skaldic diction, the associative link between weather and battle is so strong that words for rain, hail, sleet, snow, wind, ice, and even frost (e.g., *drif*, *dript*, *drifa*, *él*, *gráp*, *hagl*, *hregg*, *hríð*, *íss*, *regn*, *skúr*, *veðr*, *stormr*, *vindr*, and *frost*) have almost nothing to do with precipitation and everything to do with warfare.²¹ The *Andreas* poet's identification of killing-frost and rime as "battle-stalkers" is part of this imagistic mode.

¹⁹ This prose life, extant as a fragment in the Blickling manuscript and complete in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 198, is printed from the former, with the missing parts supplied from the latter, in *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, EETS o.s. 58, 63, and 73 (London, 1874-1880; repr. in 1 vol., 1967), 229-49. Ælfric's homily on the apostle's martyrdom has nothing to do with this legendary account: Clemoes, CH 1, 507-19 (homily 38).

²⁰ Cf. *ffúk ok frost gekk alla nóttina* "blowing snow and frost walked [went on] all night": *Fóstræðra saga*, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík, 1943), chap. 4, 136.

²¹ See n. 6 above.

Aggressive water raises its head again toward the end of the Old English poem. In a much discussed passage, Andreas invites a stone pillar to send a devouring flood upon the Mermedonians:

Stream ut aweoll,
 fleow ofer foldan. Famige walcan
 mid ærdæge eorðan þehton,
 myclade mereflod. Meoduscerwen wearð
 æfter symbeldæge. Slæpe tobrugdon
 searuhæbbende. Sund grunde onfeng,
 deope gedrefed. Duguð wearð afyrhted
 þurh þæs flodes fær. Fæge swulton,
 geonge on geofone guðræs fornam
 þurh sealtne weg. Pæt wæs sorgbyrþen,
 biter beorþegu. Byrlas ne gældon,
 ombehtþegnas. Pær wæs ælcum genog
 fram dæges orde drync sona gearu.
 (1523b-1535)

[A river welled out, flowed over the earth. Foamy billows covered the earth at dawn, the deluge increased. After a day of feasting came a pouring out of mead. The warriors shook off sleep. The sea took hold of the land, deeply stirred up. The troop became terrified by the sudden attack of the flood. Doomed they perished, the battle-rush consumed with a salty wave the young men in the ocean. That was a sorrowful brewing, a bitter beer-drinking. Cup-bearers and serving-men did not hold back. For everyone drink enough was at once ready there from the start of day.]

The flood is figured as "a pouring out of mead", "a sorrowful brew", a "bitter beer-drinking" served by attentive "cup-bearers." Taste decides which passages in any work should be celebrated and which hanged by the neck until dead. Modern readers tend to lean toward an execution.²² Not even the poet's change of *ealuscerwen* "ale-pouring" (*Beo* 769) to *meoduscerwen* "mead-pouring" can please: "As it happens, *Andreas* is in this case

²² Brooks, ed., *Andreas*, comments at 114 that "this metaphor is elaborated to the point of absurdity in 1533 ff."

rather clearer than *Beowulf*, but it is still odd to compare anything 'bitter' to mead, a sweet drink. The metaphor is muddled, and may have been borrowed."²³ The northern courts that fostered skaldic art might not have been so dismissive.

For in this sophisticated verse, as in the Anglo-Saxon narrator's *leoð-word* "poetic words" (1488b), mead and ale were interchangeable terms.²⁴ In the kennings "drink of the raven" (= blood) or "drink of Odin" (= poetry), any liquid — from ale to wave — can be substituted for "drink". Verse is Odin's *drykkir* "drink"; it is also his *mjóðr* "mead", *öl* "ale", *bjór* "beer", *líð* "liquor", *veig* "strong drink", *vín* "wine", *granstraumr* "moustache-stream", *ægir* "sea", *alda* "wave", *brim* "surf", *gjalfir* "ocean", *fors* "waterfall", *regn* "rain", *vágr* "sea", and *sumbl* "drinking party", poetic synonyms all.²⁵ The association in *Andreas* of flowing waters with an abundance of mead has parallels in tenth-century skaldic verse. Around 900, Þjóðólfr of Hvin tells of King Fjölfnir drowning in a tub of mead: "And the ox's spears' [horns'] windless sea [strong drink] destroyed the prince" (*Skj.* IA, 7; IB, 7). In the six half-stanzas assigned to the exordium of *Vellekla* (c. 990), the skald Einarr Helgason calls poetry *Her-Týs víngnóðar austr* "draft of Odin's wine-vessel"; *fjarðleggjar fyrðar dreggjar brim* "fjord-bone's [stone's] men's [dwarfs'] yeast-surf"; *dverga bergs geymiló* "the dwarfs' mountain-kept liquid"; *Rögnis vágr* "sea of Odin"; *Óðreris alda* "wave of Odrerir"; *Kvasis dreyri* "Kvasir's blood"; and *Boðnar bára* "wave of Bodn" (*Skj.* IA, 122–23; IB, 117). The poet's patron is

²³ Shippey, *Old English Verse*, 116. Christine Fell, "Old English *beor*," *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 8 (1975): 76–95, argues that the poet's "beer" (OE *beor*, ON *bjór*) was not a malt-based drink, but a sweet fruit liqueur. See also Albert S. Cook, "Bitter Beer-Drinking," *Modern Language Notes* 40 (1924): 285–88. For the disputed *ealuscerwen*, see Antoinette diPaolo Healey et al., *Dictionary of Old English*, "E" (Toronto, 1996), s.v. The secondary literature on metaphorical drinks is vast: recent additions include Hugh Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (Dublin, 1999), 130–33, 158–59; Ute Schwab, "Blut trinken und im Bier ertrinken. Zur Trinkmetaphorik bei Saxo Grammaticus im Vergleich zu einigen Zeugnissen der germanischen Heldendichtung, besonders des Nibelungenliedes," in *Saxo Grammaticus. Tra storiografia e letteratura*, ed. Carlo Santini (Rome, 1992), 367–415.

²⁴ This does not appear to be the case for the *Heliand* poet, whose two wine-receptions (1994–2076, 2733–2742) do not mix drinks (in contrast to *Beowulf*'s *Wealhtheow* who, like an absent-minded hostess, hands out mead cups at the royal beer-party).

²⁵ See Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, 427–29.

asked to hearken to this deluge of interrelated streams, to the "swell" that is pounding against the skald's "song's skerry" [teeth], to the surf and brine that he is furiously "bailing" out of his "wine-ship." Both prince and audience end up thoroughly drenched with Odin's mead. A later stanza in *Vellekla* describes battle and poetry in terms of a hydrocycle, the continual circulation of water from air to land and back:

Hjalmgrápi vann hilmir
 harðr (Lopt's vinar) barða
 (því kom vöxtr í Vínu
 vínheims) fiandr sína,
 (at forsnjallir fellu
 fúrs í Þróttar skúrum)
 þat fær þjóðar snytri
 (þrír jarlssynir) tírar.

(Skj. IA, 125; IB, 118-19)

In the following literal version, the three kennings — one for poetry and two for battle — are italicized:

With *helmet hail* got the ruler
 stern, of *Loptr's friend*, beaten,
 therefore came a swelling in *the river*
of the wine abode, his enemies,
 so that very bold ones fell
in the showers of Þrótt's fire
 — that gives to the people's minister
 — three sons of an earl — glory.

"Helmet-hail" denotes a rain of missiles. The skald's five-part kenning for poetry involves a paronomastic drumming on *vinr* "friend", *vín* "wine", and *Vína* "river": Loptr's friend is Odin whose "wine" is the poetic mead; its "abode" is a vat, and the "river" of the vat is the poetic drink itself, the skald's concentrated outpourings. The "showers of Odin's fire [spear]" designate battle. As in *Andreas*, one liquid seems always to wash the other in a series of rapidly shifting, pictorially incongruous metamorphoses. But while the mead-stream in *Vellekla* is bubbling with praise, the drink flowing from the pillar in the Old English poem announces, like the voice of

the archaic torso of Apollo heard by Rilke: "Du musst dein Leben ändern."²⁶

Reading an old poem is like receiving a guest from a distant land. You try to make sense of the visitor's words, his particular idiom, grammar, and gestures. Some preceding and surrounding culture, now vanished, gave context to the utterances of *Andreas*, the oddly dressed and worded stranger in the Vercelli Book. This note looks at what happens when the Old English poem is approached through the special language of the skalds. Sometimes light is shed on the meaning of an individual Old English compound or on the interpretation of a puzzling passage; sometimes the local effects the poet sought become a little clearer. And sometimes, with metaphors flashing this way, then that, first one, then another wave catching the light, we learn something about the Anglo-Saxon poet's apprehension of reality, his take on the world.

²⁶ "Archaischer Torso Apollos" (1908): *New Poems*, trans. J. B. Leishman (London, 1964), 164. On the conversion of Mermedonia by "water from the rock," see Thomas D. Hill, "Figural Narrative in *Andreas*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1969): 261-73, and Marie M. Walsh, "The Baptismal Flood in the Old English *Andreas*," *Traditio* 33 (1977): 137-58.

MALCOLM GODDEN

Ælfric as Grammarian: The Evidence of his *Catholic Homilies*

IN AN IMPORTANT STUDY OF LATE Old English spelling variation, and much else, published in 1992, Don Scragg drew attention to the work of an eleventh-century Rochester reader and corrector with a keen eye for grammatical consistency. Working through some texts of Ælfric in a manuscript dating from about the year 1000, this reader noticed the great grammarian's apparently random, one might say sloppy, variation between strong and weak forms of the noun *lufu* and reduced them to a proper uniformity, substituting the strong form throughout.¹ It is a salutary reminder that Ælfric Grammaticus may not always have been as grammatical as his contemporaries. What follows is a brief attempt to explore some aspects of his grammaticality.

One of the most important moments in the history of Ælfric studies was Kenneth Sisam's demonstration, in a series of articles originally published in 1931–1933, that the manuscripts of the *Catholic Homilies* revealed a gradual process of authorial revision, and that the revision involved not only some large-scale changes of the kind noticed much earlier by Dietrich, but also a great deal of small-scale revision.² This, he showed, in-

¹ D. G. Scragg, "Spelling Variations in Eleventh-Century English," in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Carola Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 347–54.

² K. Sisam, "MSS Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*," *Review of English Studies* 7 (1931): 8 (1932): 51–68, 9 (1933): 1–12; rev. and repr. in idem, *Studies in the*

cluded some grammatical changes, specifically the change from dative to accusative in nouns governed by the preposition *þurh*.

Subsequent work on the First Series of the *Catholic Homilies* (hereafter CH 1), and especially the Royal manuscript of that series, by Peter Clemoes showed that revision or correction of grammar was very widespread indeed, forming the major component of Ælfric's correction in the early stages of his dissemination of the work.³ These revisions affected the gender and class of nouns, the declension of adjectives, classes of weak verbs, forms of relative pronouns, moods of verbs, and cases of nouns governed by prepositions or by verbs. My own subsequent work on the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* (hereafter CH 2) produced some more limited evidence of similar changes by Ælfric.⁴

This evidence of authorial changes in grammatical usage raises some important and interesting questions about the writer who used to be called Ælfric Grammaticus or Ælfric the Grammarian, to distinguish him from other men called Ælfric. Was the Old English which he inherited a rule-bound language, but one whose rules he only half-knew or half-practised? Or was it a language with a great deal of free variation, on which he was trying to impose rules? Or was it a language in transition between two sets of rules or conventions? The much-delayed publication of Clemoes's edition of CH 1, in 1997, gives us the opportunity to look more closely at some of these questions.

I. THE EVIDENCE FOR REVISION

We should perhaps start by noting the kinds of evidence we are dealing with and how reliable it is, before looking at the particular types of

History of Old English Literature (Oxford, 1953), 165–79; E. Dietrich, "Abt Ælfrik: Zur Literaturgeschichte der angelsächsischen Kirche," *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 25 (1855): 487–594; 26 (1856): 163–256.

³ Clemoes originally developed these conclusions in his Cambridge Ph.D. thesis of 1956; they were revised and elaborated in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the Royal manuscript *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies* (*British Museum Royal 7 C.XII*, fols. 4–218), ed. Norman E. Eliason and Peter Clemoes, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 13 (Copenhagen, 1966), and in the introduction to his edition of CH 1 which he wrote at the same time but which was not published until 1997.

⁴ Godden, CH 2.

change.⁵ Sisam, following a point made by Dietrich in the nineteenth century, noted that there were three very early, sound, and reliable manuscripts of CH 1, and that large-scale differences among them showed that they represented three successive stages in Ælfric's development of the text: London, British Library MS Royal 7 c.xii (= A), a copy of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, represents the earliest known state; Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.28 (= K), whose text was familiar as the basis of Thorpe's edition of 1844–1846,⁶ represents a later stage; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188 (=Q) represents a still later stage of CH 1 containing additional texts and passages. He showed that the first two also differed a great deal in points of detail, grammar, and wording, which he was inclined to attribute to Ælfric's revision too. And he went on to show that the Royal manuscript of CH 1 had been corrected and annotated in Ælfric's own hand, and that many of the alterations were on points of grammar; and that other, less reliable, manuscripts could be shown to occupy particular places within the sequence of revision, on the basis of either large-scale change or more commonly changes of detail. Clemoes built on that pattern in his analysis of Ælfric's revision, in his introduction to the facsimile of the Royal manuscript and in his introduction to his edition. In the case of CH 2, the evidence is much more limited since there is only one complete manuscript (K) and no equivalent to A or Q, though there are nearly thirty manuscripts containing selections from the Series. Here one has to rely on identifying large-scale differences that distinguish the manuscripts in terms of authorial revision and succes-

⁵ Manuscripts containing items from the *Catholic Homilies* are referred to in this essay by sigla devised by Clemoes and used in the EETS editions of the *Catholic Homilies* and in Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*. These are: A (London, British Library, Royal 7 C.xii); B (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343); C (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 303); D (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342); E (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 198); F (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 162); G (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv); H (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.v); J (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii and Lambeth Palace Library 489); K (Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.28); L (Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33); M (Cambridge, University Library, li.4.6); N (London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A.ix); O (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 302); Q (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 188); R (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178); T (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and 114 and Junius 121); U (Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.34).

⁶ *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1844–1846).

sive stages in the development of the text, and then with the help of CH I evidence try to identify consistent patterns in variations of detail.

One important argument for attributing such revision to Ælfric is the evidence of his own later writings, such as the later (supplementary) homilies edited by Pope, which in some areas show a consistent grammatical practice that matches the alterations attributed to Ælfric in the text of the *Catholic Homilies*. There are, though, reservations to be expressed about the nature of the evidence. In the case of the Royal manuscript, it is possible to claim that all the thousand or so alterations entered in the manuscript and reflected in other copies of the text were initiated or at least approved by Ælfric; but it has to be acknowledged that a great many of them are not in his own hand but were entered by the two main scribes or by others unidentified. In the case of any differences of substance we are I think entitled to say that Ælfric did initiate them, and that the scribes and others must have copied them over from another manuscript on his instructions. In the case of the grammatical changes, it may be that Ælfric made the alterations in another manuscript and told the scribes to collate their copy with that manuscript, or that he told the scribes to make certain specified types of change in the manuscript on their own account.

In the case of other manuscripts, we are dealing with copies produced at other places, far removed from Ælfric, and trying to deduce which variations in them are the work of scribes and correctors and which can be traced back to Ælfric himself. And that can be a matter of probabilities rather than certainties.

II. THE NATURE OF THE REVISION

1. Cases after Prepositions

a) *þurh*.

Sisam identified this revision, and it remains the most frequent and useful feature. In Old English generally *þurh* takes the accusative.⁷ It also takes the accusative, invariably I think, in Ælfric's own later writings. But in the *Catholic Homilies*, as represented by MS A for CH I and MS K for CH 2, the dative is quite common, though the accusative is dominant: of

⁷ See Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), § 1207.

about twelve hundred instances of *þurh*, some two hundred are followed by the dative (in many of the other instances the case is indeterminate). But these instances of dative are gradually altered to accusative. In MS A's text of CH 1 there are sixteen alterations to accusative entered in the manuscript itself, but about eighty-five remain unaltered. In forty-five instances, manuscripts representing the next stage of development, the ones deriving from the copy of CH 1 which Ælfric sent to Archbishop Sigeric, show the accusative where MS A has dative. And the remaining forty instances or so show the accusative in manuscripts representing the next stage. One of these manuscripts is K, which was used by Thorpe for his edition of the *Catholic Homilies*, and this explains why the dative does not appear with *þurh* in his text of CH 1. With CH 2, there are some ninety instances of dative in K or other manuscripts representing the early phase, all of which are replaced by accusative in manuscripts belonging to later stages: twenty-five of them at a fairly early stage, the rest later.

Two main points strike one first about this process: (a) that Ælfric felt strongly enough about this nicety of grammar to correct every single instance to accusative, despite the frequency of dative in his early writings; but (b) that he did not feel strongly enough about the usage to eliminate the dative thoroughly in one go. In CH 1 the correction is very patchy in MS A despite his personal supervision, and then takes several more stages before it is complete. In CH 2 it is clear that he made at least two independent attempts to deal with it (that is, working with two copies collaterally related) before comprehensively disposing of the dative at a later stage. And it took longer with CH 2 than with CH 1, so that in manuscript K, which contains both Series, there are still a lot of datives in CH 2 though none in CH 1.

Clearly Ælfric acquired or developed a grammatical rule here, that *þurh* should always take the accusative. But did this displace a different rule? The use of the dative as opposed to the accusative does not seem to be related to sense or syntax, but it does seem curiously to be related to the kinds of nouns involved.⁸ In the early versions of the text there is a gen-

⁸ There is an excellent discussion of this phenomenon in Ælfric's early work by Arthur Sandved, "Some Notes on the Syntax of Prepositions in Ælfric's Homilies," in *Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honour of Paul Christopherson*, ed. P.M. Tilling, Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Learning 8 (Coleraine, 1981), 117-35; see also Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 1153.

eral tendency to use the accusative if the noun is singular but the dative if it is plural; example 1, with dative and accusative in the same phrase, nicely illustrates the distinction:

1. þurh ðisne geleafan and þurh godum geearnungum (CH 1 20.276)

There is a parallel tendency to use the accusative if the referent is a person or tangible thing, but the dative if it is an abstraction. Thus with words for God or the devil, the dative is very rare in either MS A of CH 1 or MS K of CH 2:

2. þurh criste 1 þurh crist 7
 þurh drihtne 0 þurh drihten 6
 þurh gode 0 þurh god 8
 þurh deofle 0, deoflum 1, deofol 6

But the dative is more common with the more abstract *gast*:

3. þurh godes gaste 4 þurh godes gast 8

And the dative is the rule with *godum geearnungum*, "good merits":

4. þurh godum geearnungum 8 þurh gode geearnunga 0

Compare too the contrast between words for bird and words for speech or discourse:

5. þurh þisne earn/fugel
 þurh þisum cwyde/tacne/wordum

One might note too the usage with pronouns and demonstratives. Not surprisingly the dative is rare with the personal pronoun, since it falls under the "rule" just described:

6. þurh him/hire 0 þurh hine 34 þurh hi 12

But it is also rare with the demonstrative or definite article, even in the plural, as if the presence of the demonstrative inhibited the use of the dative even with plurals and abstractions:

7. þurh þam/þære 11 þurh þone/þa 161

On the other hand, the dative is the rule with *nan*:

8. þurh nanre/nanum 6 þurh nan/nane 0

It is hard to see an articulable rule here, though there is clear evidence of a personal preference, a feeling for what is right or comfortable.

As I noted, *þurh* with the dative is unusual in Old English outside Ælfric's work, but when scribes and readers found it in his work they seem not to have been particularly troubled by it. It is very seldom indeed that a scribe or corrector has altered a dative in any of the extant manuscripts, and the evidence as a whole suggests that where there is variation between manuscripts it goes back to Ælfric's changes, not to those of others. A nice example that supports that point is at CH 2 28.7:

- | | | |
|----|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 9. | K | þurh agenum geearnungum |
| | CHR | þurh agene geearnunga |
| | DF | þurh agene geearnungum |
| | D | <i>altered to agene geearnunga</i> |
| | F | <i>altered to agenum geearnungum</i> |
| | (BG | þurh agene geearnunge) |

K has the dative of the expected type (see above), MSS CHR reflect a change to accusative that probably goes back to Ælfric. But two manuscripts, D and F, closely linked and sharing a lot of error and corruption, have somehow acquired a false form, *agene geearnungum*, with accusative adjective and dative noun (perhaps inherited from a misreading or mis-copying of an Ælfrician revision). A reader of D saw this and altered it to the accusative. A reader of F saw the same hybrid and altered to the dative. Both correctors were operating, I think, at Rochester around the middle of the eleventh century. Both saw a false concord and corrected it, but there was apparently not a clear rule about the correct case. (B and G are twelfth-century manuscripts with levelled endings and of no account here.)

It would seem then that *þurh* + accusative was normal convention for most users of Old English, but became specifically a *rule* for Ælfric only after a very uncertain start.

b) *The evidence of other prepositions.*

wip is like *þurh*. The accusative is normal in most writers, and the rule in late Ælfric (except for contexts in which the genitive is normal), but the dative is equally common in early versions of the *Catholic Homilies*. There are twenty-eight examples in MS A of CH 1, gradually altered to accusative over five successive stages of revision. In CH 2, there are twenty-eight examples of each case in MS K, but all datives were eradicated in the course of later revision.

With other prepositions, such as *op* and *ymbe*, the accusative is the normal case from the beginning for Ælfric, but there were a few datives which he soon eliminated. We might say there was a rule from the outset, but some exceptions slipped in. With others though, such as *ofer* and *on-gean*, variation or flexibility remained throughout his writings. In the *Catholic Homilies* the dative is much more common than the accusative with these prepositions in early versions of the text, whereas in Ælfric's later work the accusative is much more common than the dative. There is clear evidence that Ælfric did alter many instances of dative to accusative, so that in later versions of the *Catholic Homilies* the accusative is dominant, but some datives remain, and clearly he went on using the dative quite often in later life. We have here a change of preference but never a rule, it appears. And as Pope's glossary shows, there is no evidence that the variation is anything to do with context or sense.

The best evidence of grammatical change remains with prepositions because they occur so frequently, but similar patterns are evident in other matters.

2. Forms of Nouns

a) *Weak and strong.*

Clemons records that in MS A *lufu* and *sunu* have both been altered from weak to strong, and *þeow* and *hætu* from strong to weak.⁹ Even so, it is not clear that Ælfric had a rule on all of these since both strong and weak forms of *lufu* and *sunu* are recorded in his later work by Pope. It would be useful to look more closely at the important word *þeow* or *þeowa* (meaning both "slave" or "servant" and "minister" or "cleric"). In the

⁹ Clemons, CH 1, 128 n. 7.

later homilies edited by Pope, the weak form *þeowa* is almost invariable; the one example of a strong form is probably early. In the *Catholic Homilies*, although the weak form is usual, the strong is quite common, with twenty-eight examples against eighty-one of the weak form. But there is little sign of Ælfric himself being sufficiently concerned about consistency in this case to "correct" the instances of strong use; there are a few changes in MS A but little thereafter. A variation at CH 2 9.168, where MS T has *þeowas* and K has *þeowan*, might reflect an Ælfrician change to weak. But there is a counter-example at CH 2 12.174:

10. K *þurh þeowas* F *þurh þeowum*

This looks like a case where Ælfric changed his original dative after *þurh*, preserved in MS F, to accusative, but in making this revision used the strong form of the noun. There is evidence also that others apart from Ælfric preferred the weak form and made changes themselves in his text, e.g., at CH 2 14.111:

11. K *þeow* R *þeow'a* T *þeowa*

Here *þeow* has been changed to *þeowa* by an eleventh-century Worcester reader of MS R, and its text was then copied into T.

Some inconsistencies of class remain uncorrected altogether. The word for "heaven" appears in the *Catholic Homilies* in three distinct forms, all common elsewhere in Old English, but occurring in largely complementary distribution in Ælfric's work: it occurs as a strong feminine, found only in the nominative singular (*seo heofon*); as a weak feminine, appearing in the oblique cases of the singular (*heofonan*); and as a strong masculine, occurring mainly in the plural (*heofonas*, *-a*, *um*, but also one example each of *heofon* and *heofones*). There is clearly a pattern here, but it is not apparently related to sense, and it is hard to imagine that it was one Ælfric could justify grammatically.

The really interesting case is *metod*, a poetic word used by Ælfric experimentally in his early alliterative homilies.¹⁰ Ælfric probably knew it in the form of a poetic epithet, *metoda drihten*, and seems to have been un-

¹⁰ See M. R. Godden, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary," *English Studies* 61 (1980): 206-23.

sure quite how to treat this word: was it weak or strong, noun or adjective? It occurs in the following phrases in the *Catholic Homilies*:

12. (a) læd us metoda god (CH 1 35.285)
- (b) sy þam metodan drihtne (CH 1 38.350)
- (c) hi gecuron manslagan na metoda drihten (var. metodan) (CH 2 14. 208)
- (d) þæs metodan drihtnes (CH 2 19.49, 259)
- (e) se metoda drihten (CH 2 23.184–185; 34.32–33)

It is usually a strong masculine noun, in poetry and in the prose of Alfred, and that would fit examples (a), (c), and (e) if *metoda* is understood as a genitive plural, "of fates" or "of gods." But examples (b) and (d) suggest a weak noun in apposition, which would also be possible for examples (a) and (e) but not for (c), unless we accept the manuscript variant *metodan*. It is perhaps not surprising that Ælfric eliminated this word in revision, though that may have been more because it was poetic than because of his grammatical uncertainty.

b) Gender of nouns.

Clemons notes nine changes in MS A affecting the gender of *ærst* "resurrection", all feminine to masculine, and one each for *wæstm* (feminine to masculine or neuter), *susl* (neuter to feminine) and *edwist* (neuter to feminine).¹¹ In Ælfric's later works *ærst* is always masculine or neuter, as it usually is in the *Catholic Homilies*, but clearly he treated it as feminine occasionally at first and then eliminated that usage, though one example slipped through to later manuscripts (CH 1 30.81). Both masculine and feminine forms are well evidenced in other prose texts. One might compare too the example of *hæll/hælu* which I discussed in an earlier article.¹² The feminine is usual in Ælfric, but it looks as though he treated it as masculine sometimes as well. Scribes or readers did not like the masculine

¹¹ Eliason and Clemons, *First Series*, 33 n. 11; Clemons, CH 1, 128 n. 8. Clemons describes the alteration to *wæstm* at CH 1, 1.73 as from feminine to neuter, but since *wæstm* is otherwise masculine in Ælfric's work it is perhaps more likely to have been a change from feminine plural to masculine singular. On the general problem of gender in nouns, see Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §§ 62–71.

¹² Godden, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary."

and often changed it to feminine, for instance at Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 5.193–194.

3. Mood of Verb in Subordinate Clauses

In MS A Clemoes cites changes from indicative to subjunctive after *gif*, *ærþamþe*, *het þæt*, *bebead þæt*, *gedafenað þæt*.¹³ These were presumably initiated by Ælfric. Clemoes notes some further examples of this sort of change, evident from the variant readings of other manuscripts, which he attributes to later stages of revision by Ælfric because of the manuscript distribution.¹⁴ In CH 2 7.101 there is a case of variation between indicative and subjunctive after an indirect question with *hwæðer*:

13. *nast hwæðer þu ... gebide (variant gebitst).*

In his later homilies Ælfric always uses the subjunctive after *hwæðer*, but he does occasionally use the indicative in early versions of the *Catholic Homilies*, and it looks as if this is another area in which he regularised his usage.¹⁵ But it is hard to be sure who is responsible for alterations of this type. Compare for instance these examples in CH 2 25:

14. CH 2 25.7 MSS KBU: *and nabbað hwæt hi etað*
 MS C *etan* MS H *eton* MS D *etað* > *etan* MS F *ætað* > *etan*

CH 2 25.32 MSS KBCDF: *and hi nabbað hwæt hi etað*
 MS H *eton* MS U *etan*

At line 32 the disciples say to Christ that the people listening to him have nothing to eat: *and hi nabbað hwæt hi etað*. Two manuscripts, H and U, have forms of the subjunctive, and I would normally take that to be an Ælfrician change, since H and U derive from a late version of his text. But the same phrase occurs at line 7, where Ælfric is giving the gospel passage in full. Here H has subjunctive but U has indicative, and two other manuscripts have alterations entered by a reader or corrector who is

¹³ Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, 33 n. 17; Clemoes, CH 1, 128 n. 14.

¹⁴ Clemoes, CH 1, 130 n. 13.

¹⁵ Cf. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 2085 on the variation in usage.

certainly not Ælfric (D and F, the two Rochester manuscripts again; C is here derived from D). I suspect the evidence here suggests that Ælfric did not change to subjunctive but readers did. We might note also the change at CH 2 15.313:

15. KE *wæs beboden þæt hi sceoldon caſlice etan*
MNO *wæs beboden þæt hi caſlice æton*

This looks like Ælfric's change, from the manuscript witnesses, but one cannot be certain.

4. Forms of Relative Pronoun

Clemons notes changes from neuter demonstrative pronoun *þæt* used as relative to the indeclinable particle *þe*, and vice versa, in MS A of CH 1.¹⁶ In CH 2 there are few changes in the form of the relative that seem to be at all likely to go back to Ælfric, but there is this interesting little set:

16. CH 2 4.304 K *on mægðhades mannum þa ðe ...*
MNO *on mægðhades mannum ðe*
- CH 2 5.4 K *gelic sumum hiredes ealdre se ðe ferde*
NO *gelic sumum hiredes ealdre ðe ferde*
- CH 2 5.157 K *him filiað ... se ðe nu is ... geðuht*
MNO *him filiað ... þam ðe nu is ... geðuht*
- CH 2 7.51 K *ðam bið dom ... se ðe nu demð ...*
D *ðam bið dom ... 'se' ðe nu demð ...*
FMNO *ðam bið dom ... ðe nu demð ...*

In each case MS K and others have the *se þe* relative pronoun (that is, demonstrative followed by particle), with the demonstrative taking its case from the relative clause, not from the main clause.¹⁷ Note how in each

¹⁶ Eliason and Clemons, *First Series*, 33 n. 14; Clemons, CH 1, 128 n. 11.

¹⁷ On the usage, see esp. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 2172.

case other manuscripts have dropped the demonstrative or changed it to avoid that clash. MSS MNO might well reflect an Ælfrician change. But in the last example the same change is actually entered in D and also appears in F, neither due I think to Ælfric. Others were clearly uncomfortable with that construction, as well as, or instead of, Ælfric.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that in the *Catholic Homilies* as first written Ælfric's grammatical usage was in many respects inconsistent in itself and sometimes out of line with normal Old English usage. He made quite extensive revisions in some areas, generally with the effect of changing the grammar to what became his normal practice later, though over several stages and in a rather sporadic manner. Often it looks as though much of the detailed revision was made by him when he was checking individual copies for error rather than undertaking a sustained, methodical correction of a master copy. In some areas too his usage remained variable, and although his revisions in the Royal manuscript or elsewhere suggest a sensitivity to correctness in these areas, it was a passing matter rather than a major concern. Connie Eble, in a 1970 dissertation on the Royal manuscript, concludes that the evidence shows "that Ælfric was a conscientious grammarian and a careful writer of his native language."¹⁸ It is true that the alterations point to a writer with a concern for grammatical correctness and consistency. But one could also argue that the variation present at the outset in the Royal manuscript and in MS K, its continuation through subsequent versions, and the unmethodical nature of revision suggest a writer whose own instinctive usage was variable and who was far from certain what correct usage was. Kenneth Sisam suggested that the model for Ælfric's grammatical concerns was Latin:

It is even possible to specify a likely date for the reform. The Second Series was followed by the *Latin Grammar*, in which Ælfric gave a considerable space to prepositions and the cases they govern. The task of explaining Latin usage and translating the exam-

¹⁸ Connie C. Eble, "Noun Inflection in Royal 7 C. xii, Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1970).

ples would bring home to him the anomalies of his own practice in English, and the advantages of regularity. [...] That he should be found overhauling the details of his English syntax may come as a surprise to those who think of the tenth century as an uncouth age. But he took an artist's pleasure in all the little things that make for good writing. His handling of the prepositions reveals at once the care that lies behind his finished prose and the Latin standards by which he moulded it.¹⁹

I think the point about dating is doubtful. Comparison between the Royal manuscript and others shows that the grammatical revision was well advanced before the production of the archetypes from which all other extant copies survive, including, on Clemoes's hypothesis, the one which Ælfric sent to Archbishop Sigeric. This copy was itself sent before he completed work on CH 2, which was apparently in turn before he began work on the *Grammar*. In other words, the grammatical concern started well before the writing of the *Grammar*. But obviously Ælfric's interest in teaching Latin started earlier, and that would certainly have allowed a concern with Latin grammar to influence his vernacular usage. Was Latin the key influence? Ælfric does in the *Grammar* give a list of prepositions which take the accusative and those which take the ablative, with a small group that take either depending on meaning.²⁰ That indeed might have prompted him to be more rigorous himself.²¹ But there is not much correlation between his Latin rules and his English usage. Note that he cites *super* as a preposition that takes accusative or ablative according to sense (motion or location), but his own usage with the corresponding English preposition, *ofer*, shows variation unrelated to sense. In the case of noun-classes, he remarks in the *Grammar* that some nouns are of varying class: "dubii generis, þæt is, twylices cynnes."²² Though that is also true of some of his Old English nouns, his efforts to correct inconsistency, for

¹⁹ Sisam, *Studies*, 184–85.

²⁰ *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler 1 (Berlin, 1880), 267–68.

²¹ Though Sandved "Syntax of Prepositions" shows that Ælfric's actual usage with prepositions is not particularly consistent in the *Grammar*, even in the chapter on Latin prepositions.

²² Sandved, "Syntax of Prepositions," 19.

example with *ærist*, suggest that he was looking for a regularity that he did not require of his pupils in their use of Latin.

I have concentrated on grammar rather than lexis here, but lexis may throw some light on the issues. Ælfric's early work, in the *Catholic Homilies*, shows a great deal of lexical variation. He seems to have relished a rich and varied vocabulary; there are over five thousand separate words in the *Catholic Homilies*, including many instances of apparent synonyms. But as with grammar, Ælfric's lexical usage changed quite substantially in some areas between the *Catholic Homilies* and his later works.²³ This is in part a matter of new words like *lagu* and *macian* coming into his usage, but it also includes many cases where he used several synonyms apparently indiscriminately early on and later narrowed his range to one or two. Thus he uses both *cyðere* and *martyr* for "martyr" in the *Catholic Homilies*, but restricts himself to *martyr* in his later work. For "however, nevertheless" he uses *hwæðre*, *þeahhwæðere*, *þeah*, and *swaþeah* in CH 1 but relies mainly on *þeah* and especially *swaþeah* thereafter. There is an evident similarity here to what we find in his grammatical practice, with variable usage in his early works giving way in some areas to a more uniform practice in later works, though in the case of lexis there is very little sign that Ælfric revised and corrected his earlier works to match his later usage (a striking exception is *metod*). And in the case of lexis we have a possible explanation for this concern with uniformity, in the hypothesis, first proposed by Helmut Gneuss in 1970 and developed in more detail by Walter Hofstetter in 1991, that a standardised vocabulary was devised and taught at St. Æthelwold's school in Winchester in the second half of the tenth century and subsequently used by Winchester-trained or -influenced writers, including Ælfric.²⁴ But though it is conceivable that Ælfric learnt the desirability of a standardised lexis from Æthelwold, it is hard to see any direct impact on his own usage. He does not in fact seem to show a particularly strong predilection for the Winchester vocabulary: according

²³ I summarise here the main points of Godden, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary."

²⁴ Helmut Gneuss, "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester," ASE 1 (1972): 63–83; Walter Hofstetter, "Winchester and the Standardisation of Old English Vocabulary," ASE 17 (1988): 139–61 (a distillation of his dissertation, "Winchester und der späلتenglische Sprachgebrauch: Untersuchung zur geographischen und zeitlichen Verbreitung altenglischer Synonyme" [Munich, 1987]). See the paper by Lapidge in this volume.

to Hofstetter's figures for the group of words he has studied, Ælfric used the "Winchester" word only 70 per cent of the time and employed synonyms other than the preferred Winchester choice in the other cases. Where his own changes of usage can be paralleled with the words examined by Gneuss and Hofstetter, he seems to be working against the Winchester preference: it is the loan-word *martyr* that he eventually standardises on, rather than the Winchester preference *cyðere*. And if Ælfric had indeed spent the previous ten or twenty years at Winchester learning and practising a standardised vocabulary, it is hard to explain why there is such variation and experimentation in the *Catholic Homilies*, with a more uniform practice only developing gradually later. There were naturally words that he seldom or never used, though contemporaries might use them, but it is difficult to see a principle of uniformity or standardisation operating in his lexis at the early stage. His variations of lexical practice suggest that he left Winchester with no established rules of usage, or even a settled practice. The same could probably be said of some aspects of his morphology, which shows considerable toleration of variation in such things as plural endings of neuter nouns or preterite endings in weak verbs.

The overall sense that a study of his changing vocabulary gives one is that it was for him a matter of feel, of tone, rather than rules. I tentatively suggest that that was his position about grammar when he started; certain cases or noun-forms felt right in some contexts and wrong in others, and that was a natural and instinctive aspect of his usage. On reading through copies of his work he began to notice inconsistencies or oddities, and changed them when he did notice them; some of these alterations perhaps achieved the status of rules for him, and affected his future usage.

That leaves unanswered the question of where his original usage came from and why it showed such variation in grammar, lexis, and morphology. In some areas it was uncharacteristic of normal Old English practice, and it is perhaps all the more surprising that a product of Æthelwold's school should have shown such variations. A possible straw in the wind is the fact that the only text I have so far come across that shows anything resembling Ælfric's variation in the case governed by *purh* is another Winchester text, of uncertain date but certainly produced by his time: the anonymous *Life of St Machutus*.²⁵ It looks as if Winchester practice toler-

²⁵ *The Old English Life of Machutus*, ed. David Yerkes (Toronto, 1984). The glossary

ated rather more variation than we have become used to assuming. But perhaps the crucial point was that Ælfric was primarily a stylist rather than a grammarian or even a pedagogue; variety of expression and nuances of rhythm and tone evidently mattered more than the kind of grammatical consistency that the later Rochester corrector sought to achieve.²⁶

records four instances of *purh* with the dative, against many with the accusative. On the Winchester origin of the text see esp. xli-ii. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 1207, notes two other instances of the dative outside Ælfric's work.

²⁶ I am grateful to Susan Irvine of University College London for some characteristically excellent advice on this paper.

MECHTHILD GRETSCH

Ælfric's Sanctorale and the Benedictional of Æthelwold

THE FIRST BOOK EVER TO BE PRINTED in Old English was Ælfric's Easter homily, edited by Archbishop Matthew Parker and his circle, and Ælfric played a paramount role in the formative period of Anglo-Saxon studies from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century.¹ It was through his Latin Grammar written in Old English and the Latin paradigms provided with English translations that the early "antiquaries" gained a first glimpse of the grammatical structure of Old English, and, above all, it was through his vast corpus of homilies and saints' lives that scholars such as Matthew Parker, William L'Isle, George Hickes and Elizabeth Elstob sought to demonstrate that the Church of England had its venerable roots in pre-Conquest times. Scholarly interest in Ælfric has not abated since the days of these pioneers, and consequently Ælfric is one of the best re-

¹ See [M. Parker et al.], *A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publikely preached and also receaved in the Saxons tyme 600 yeares agoe* (London, 1566 or 1567). For surveys of the period, see the essays in *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries*, ed. C. T. Berkhout and M. McC. Gatch (Boston, 1982), and *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. T. Graham (Kalamazoo, 1999); for the early eighteenth century, see also M. Gretsch, "Elizabeth Elstob: A Scholar's Fight for Anglo-Saxon Studies", *Anglia* 117 (1999): 163–200, 481–524, here 481–522.

searched authors in Old English literature.² Surprisingly, perhaps, in spite of this wealth of secondary literature, there remain aspects of his *oeuvre* on which so far scarcely any work has been done. In a recent article Michael Lapidge has pointed out one such aspect when he suggested that the structure of Ælfric's *sanctorale* and the principles according to which Ælfric selected the saints and feasts for commemoration in his homilies and lives would deserve close attention.³ As Lapidge noted, there are obvious peculiarities with regard to the saints and feasts chosen by Ælfric for commemoration in his *sanctorale*, when, for example, he commemorates the deposition of St Swithun (2 July), not the feast of the *translatio* (15 July), or when, as a Benedictine monk, he celebrates only one of the two feasts of St Benedict (again the less important *depositio*), or when, though Winchester-trained, he seems to depart from Winchester's liturgical practice in commemorating the feast of *Quadragesima milites* (9 March), while omitting from his *sanctorale* all the Northern French and Flemish saints such as Sts Vedastus, Iudoc or Bertin, who were especially culted at Winchester.⁴

No doubt Ælfric had an intimate knowledge of the full range of saints included in liturgical calendars or the martyrology, but it is equally clear that only a limited number of those saints could be honoured by providing their *vitae* in the vernacular. As is confirmed by their respective prefaces, the two sets of the *Catholic Homilies*, containing forty pieces each, preserve fairly accurately Ælfric's original compilation,⁵ and the *Lives of Saints*, though preserved less intact, probably also closely approximated forty in Ælfric's original scheme for the collection.⁶ Within the three collections,

² L. M. Reinsma, for example, lists 882 titles up to 1982: *Ælfric. An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987). Reinsma's bibliography has recently been updated by A. Kleist, "An Annotated Bibliography of Ælfrician Studies: 1983–1996", in *Old English Prose. Basic Readings*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (New York, 2000), 503–52. Kleist lists 162 items out of a total of approximately 400 titles that have accumulated during the intervening twelve years.

³ See M. Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", in *Holy Men and Holy Women. Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Context*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (New York, 1996), 115–29.

⁴ See Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", 119–23.

⁵ The critical editions of the *Catholic Homilies* are: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford, 1997) and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series*, ed. M. Godden, EETS s.s. 5 (Oxford, 1979).

⁶ The edition is: *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900; repr. in 2 vols., 1966). There are thirty-six pieces in Skeat's numbering from which three non-Ælfrician lives have to be subtracted (nos. 23 and 23B, 29, and 33). For the changes which the *Lives of Saints* underwent in the course of their

in the *Catholic Homilies* the items pertaining to the *sanctorale* occur side by side with those for the *temporale*, and in the *Lives of Saints* they are mixed with homilies treating incidents from the Old Testament.⁷ This leaves us with a total of fifty-four feasts of the *sanctorale*, nineteen occurring in the first series of the *Catholic Homilies*, sixteen in the second series and twenty-nine in the *Lives of Saints*.⁸ By comparison, the four Winchester calendars printed by Francis Wormald commemorate some 209 (nos. 9 and 10), 213 (no. 11) and 226 (no. 12) feasts respectively.⁹ Ælfric's awareness of having to pick for inclusion in his three collections of homilies and *vitae* a relatively small selection from the feasts of the *sanctorale* (but also from those of the *temporale*) emerges clearly from his prefaces to these collections: in the English preface to the *Lives of Saints* he remarks with regard to the saints of the *sanctorale* that God has so many saints for his service that it is impossible to commemorate them all.¹⁰ Similarly, concerning the feasts of the *temporale*, Ælfric explains that in his two sets of *Catholic Homilies* he has not expounded all the gospel pericopes read in the course of a year but only a selection of these, which should be sufficient for edifying and rectifying the souls of the simple-minded.¹¹ Although he does not say so ex-

manuscript transmission, see J. Hill, "The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Preliminary Survey", in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, 235–59. For the non-Ælfrician pieces, see *ibid.*, 236–37 and 253, n. 4.

⁷ For the division of the liturgical year into *temporale* and *sanctorale* cycles, see, for example, A. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), 4–13, and J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), 49–53. Traditionally the *temporale* contains the moveable feasts keyed to Easter and the feasts pertaining to Christ such as Christmas; the *sanctorale* contains saints' feasts and feasts of the Virgin Mary, which are always celebrated on the same day of the year. A simple division into moveable and immoveable feasts is also possible, in which case Christmas and Epiphany would belong to the *sanctorale*: this division is adopted by Michael Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", 115–16. Such a division makes sense because feasts such as Christmas and Epiphany (but not the moveable feasts) are recorded in Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars.

⁸ For these figures and lists of the items in question, see Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", 116–19. The total of fifty-four feasts of the *sanctorale* is arrived at by ignoring the duplications of feasts that occur in the three collections.

⁹ See F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, HBS 72 (London, 1934), nos. 9 (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii), 10 (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32), 11 (London, British Library, Arundel 60) and 12 (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii).

¹⁰ See *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 1: 6.

¹¹ See Clemoes, CH 1: 173.

plicity, we may be certain that the principle which governed Ælfric's choice of the *temporale* items — the moral and spiritual improvement of the laity — may also be sought behind the selection of saints for his *sanctorale*. The one statement we get from Ælfric with regard to the presence of a particular saint in one of the three collections is that the *Catholic Homilies* commemorate those saints culted by the laity nationwide, whereas the *Lives of Saints* contain *vitae* of saints commemorated in monasteries only.¹² But this broad distinction does not give a rationale for inclusion of one saint and omission of another in cases where both would qualify for treatment in one of the three collections. Is it possible to get somewhat nearer to the rationale of Ælfric's selection?

It has been pointed out that a political and ethical motivation occasionally seems to have determined Ælfric's choice, especially with regard to the *vitae* and Old Testament pieces in the *Lives of Saints*, and that he decided to include pieces such as The Forty Soldiers (no. ix), The Prayer of Moses (no. xiii), Kings (no. xviii), Achitophel and Absalom (no. xix), Maccabees (no. xxv), St Maurice and his Companions (no. xxviii) and St Martin (no. xxxi) because of the parallels to contemporary political conditions which they provided, and because of their potential for serving as a vehicle for the political and ethical instruction of a lay audience.¹³ In the case of the Forty Soldiers of Sebaste in Armenia (*Quadragenta milites*) such parallels and potential may also serve as an explanation why, in commemorating them, Ælfric departs radically from Winchester's liturgical practice, as we have seen. The Forty Soldiers provide an excellent example of collective resistance towards a cruel and arrogant enemy. By the same token, Ælfric's penchant for this type of narrative may help to explain why he omitted from his *sanctorale* saints that were widely venerated in late Anglo-Saxon England and/or Winchester such as Sts Vedastus, Amandus, Audoenus, Bertinus, Audomarus, Iudoc and Grimbald,¹⁴ all of whom led exemplary lives as bishops or monks but could not serve as mod-

¹² See Godden, CH 2: 2 and *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 1: 4.

¹³ See M. R. Godden, "Experiments in Genre: the Saints' Lives in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*", in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, 261–87, at 261–62; idem, "Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles", *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985): 83–100, at 94–97; and idem, "Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition", in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. P. E. Szarmach and B. F. Huppé (Albany, 1978), 99–117, here 107–8.

¹⁴ See above, p. 32.

els for heroic resistance, and why he included instead two saints from Francia who fitted this pattern: St Maurice and the Theban Legion, and St Dionysius and his Companions.¹⁵ Another determining factor for Ælfric's selection of his saints may have been a wish to comply with the predilections of his patrons. In the case of one saint, St Thomas, we have clear proof of such compliance. Towards the end of the second series of the *Catholic Homilies* Ælfric has a note saying that he has not written a Life of St Thomas for two reasons: because a translation of his *passio* into Old English verse has been in existence for a long time, and because St Augustine rejected as incredible (*ungeleaflic*) a certain episode in the *passio*.¹⁶ Ælfric includes, however, a Life of St Thomas in his *Lives of Saints* collection (no. xxxvi). Interestingly, this is provided with a brief Latin introduction, where Ælfric reiterates St Augustine's (and his own) doubts about that specific episode but concludes that he will translate the *passio* of St Thomas nevertheless, since the venerable Ealdorman Æthelweard urgently requested him to do so.¹⁷ Æthelweard, ealdorman of the western provinces (975–c. 998), who together with his son Æthelmær commissioned the *Lives of Saints*,¹⁸ may quite possibly also have influenced Ælfric's choice of feasts for the *Catholic Homilies*. In any case, he seems to have obtained a special edition of the first series which contained forty-four pieces instead of the usual forty.¹⁹ With these examples in mind, one might ask what influence may have made Ælfric relent and provide a homily for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September) after he

¹⁵ *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, nos. 26 and 29. The commemoration of a third Frankish saint, St Maur (*Lives of Saints*, no. 6), is no doubt due to the (erroneous) notion that he was St Benedict's principal student: his *vita* retails many incidents pertaining to a biography of St Benedict.

¹⁶ See Godden, CH 2, 297–98. For a discussion of Ælfric's attitude towards the *vita* of St Thomas in terms of his orthodoxy and interest in history, see Godden, "Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles", 88–90. The kind of passing reference which Ælfric has to the episode in question would seem to indicate that the Old English poetic version of the *passio* was known at least among the first readers of the *Catholic Homilies*. Unfortunately it has not survived.

¹⁷ "Sicut Æpelwerdus uenerabilis dux obnixè nos præcatus est": *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 2: 400.

¹⁸ As emerges both from the Latin and from the Old English preface to the collection: *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 1: 4.

¹⁹ This much emerges from the Latin conclusion to the English preface to the first series, which has been preserved in Cambridge, University Library Gg. 3. 28: see Clemons, CH 1, 177, app. crit.

had expressly declined to do so on grounds of the dubious and difficult nature of the source material.²⁰ Was it again some sort of pressure from one or several of his patrons or was it in deference to the important role which the cult of the Virgin played in reformed monastic circles, and especially in Æthelwoldian Winchester, or was it a combination of both?²¹ Or, to give a last example: by what influence was St Vincent admitted to Ælfric's *sanctorale*? From the manuscript transmission of this *passio* it is not clear whether Ælfric intended it to be included in his *Lives of Saints*,²² or whether it was a piece written by him on commission for some monastery which possessed a relic of the saint and where, consequently, he was held in especial veneration. Glastonbury, the New Minster, Winchester, and especially Abingdon would be obvious candidates for such a commission.²³ In this case, St Vincent would not be part of Ælfric's *sanctorale* as it is defined in his prefaces to the *Catholic Homilies* and the *Lives of Saints*. But given the wide dissemination of his cult all over England and given the indubitable Winchester base for his cult, it cannot be ruled out that St Vincent either obtained his vernacular Life through the intervention of one of Ælfric's lay patrons, or that his *vita* was composed by Ælfric as an afterthought while he was recollecting his Winchester roots and the veneration in which the saint was held in two further important monastic centres, Glastonbury and Abingdon.

In addition to the factors I have touched on so far, there were no doubt other forces at work in the shaping of Ælfric's *sanctorale* — literary

²⁰ Ælfric's remarks are found in a note in the second series of the *Catholic Homilies* in the place which would have been appropriate for commemorating the feast on 8 September: see Godden, CH 2, 271. The homily which Ælfric eventually composed for that feast is ed. B. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* (repr. with supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1964), 24–48.

²¹ For an analysis of Ælfric's attitude towards this feast of the Virgin, see M. Clayton, "Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary", *Anglia* 104 (1986): 286–315; for the importance of the cult of the Virgin in reform circles and especially at Winchester, see eadem, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 2 (Cambridge, 1990), 61–89 and 110–21, and eadem, "Centralism and Uniformity Versus Localism and Diversity: The Virgin and Native Saints in the Monastic Reform", *Peritia* 8 (1994): 95–106.

²² The Life of St Vincent is edited by Skeat as an appendix: see *Lives of Saints* 2: 426–43.

²³ For the cult of St Vincent in late Anglo-Saxon England and the view that Ælfric's Life was commissioned, probably by the Abingdon monks, see S. E. Irvine, "Bones of Contention: The Context of Ælfric's Homily on St Vincent", ASE 19 (1990): 117–32.

and liturgical forces, for example. The so-called Cotton-Corpus legendary has been identified as one such shaping force of paramount importance, especially for the *Lives of Saints*. The Cotton-Corpus legendary is a collection of 165 saints' *vitae* and *passiones* written at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and now preserved as London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9.²⁴ Although obviously the Cotton-Corpus manuscript itself cannot have been the manuscript which was consulted by Ælfric, it has been shown that in many cases where a number of variant redactions of a saint's life have survived it is the form as transmitted in Cotton-Corpus which is closest to Ælfric.²⁵ Furthermore, some eccentricities in Ælfric's *sanctorale* can plausibly be explained at a stroke on the assumption that he had regular recourse to a predecessor of the Cotton-Corpus manuscript, as Michael Lapidge has shown. For example, Ælfric seems to have taken not only the text of the *Vita S. Eugeniae* from the Cotton-Corpus legendary but also the date against which she is commemorated. This date is peculiar indeed, inasmuch as it is December 25, Christ's Nativity, and no Anglo-Saxon calendar has her feast against that date; in Winchester especially she does not seem to have been culted extensively, since none of the Winchester calendars commemorates her at all.²⁶ In what follows, I want to suggest a further literary and liturgical, but also art-historical, source which, in my view, influenced the structure of Ælfric's *sanctorale*: the famous Benedictional of Æthelwold (London, British Library, Add. 49598), a lavishly produced manuscript made for Æthelwold's personal use as bishop of Winchester and very possibly for the occasion of King Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973.²⁷ There are some striking parallels, as I hope to show, between the commemoration of saints in Æthelwold's Benedictional and Ælfric's *sanctorale*, parallels which can plausibly and economically be explained on the assumption that the teacher's most valuable book, in the

²⁴ For a description of the manuscript and a helpfully detailed listing of its contents, see now P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary", in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, 131–46.

²⁵ See P. H. Zettel, "Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric", *Peritia* 1 (1982): 17–37.

²⁶ See Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", 123.

²⁷ For the probable date of the Benedictional, see R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995), 212–14, 260–61.

production of which he seems to have taken an active interest,²⁸ was a major shaping influence for the *sanctorale* which the pupil devised for the instruction and edification of a lay audience. We may begin by looking at some figures. Ælfric's *sanctorale* contains, as we have seen, fifty-four feasts, the Benedictional of Æthelwold has blessings for thirty-eight feasts of the *sanctorale*. Thirty-six of these thirty-eight feasts are provided with a homily by Ælfric. The two feasts that have blessings in the Benedictional but no homily by Ælfric are St Vedastus (6 February; Æ 41, CBP 704)²⁹ and St Ambrose (4 April; Æ 45, CBP 1254).³⁰ The parallels between the blessings in the Benedictional and the homilies in Ælfric's *sanctorale* are distributed over Ælfric's three collections as follows: twenty in *Catholic Homilies* I, nine in *Catholic Homilies* II (five of these are duplicates for feasts already commemorated in *Catholic Homilies* I), ten in *Lives of Saints* (two of these being duplicates), and two (St Vincent and the Nativity of the Virgin) are extra-cyclic pieces.³¹ It is noteworthy that the bulk of the parallels is found in *Catholic Homilies* I (recall that the *Catholic Homilies* commemorate saints and feasts established in the entire kingdom). Of the feasts commemorated by Ælfric but not in the Benedictional the following are in question: St Basilus (1 January), Sts Julian and Basilissa (13 January), St Maurus (15 January), Sts *Quadraginta milites* (9 March), St Cuthbert (20 March), St George (23 April), St Mark the Evangelist (25 March),

²⁸ For Æthelwold's involvement in the production of his Benedictional, see Desham, *Benedictional*, 252–54 and *passim*. Contemporary evidence for Æthelwold's involvement is found in the dedication poem of the book: for this poem see below, p. 50 and n. 82.

²⁹ The numbers for the blessings in Æthelwold's Benedictional (Æ) are those given by A. Prescott, "The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold", in *Bishop Æthelwold. His Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 119–47, at 128–32; CBP refers to the numbers in E. Moeller, *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*, CCSL 152, 152 A–C (Turnhout, 1971–1979).

³⁰ There are blessings for two further feasts in the Benedictional for which no homily is provided by Ælfric: the Conversion of St Paul (25 January; Æ 36, CBP 940) and Sts Tiburtius and Valerian (14 April, Æ 83, CBP 153). However, CH 1, 27 (*Natale S. Pauli apostoli*) is in large part the story of St Paul's conversion, and the *passio* of Tiburtius and Valerian, husband and brother-in-law of St Caecilia, is included in her *Life* as *Lives of Saints* 2: 34, against 22 November. Note that the Benedictional has a separate blessing for St Caecilia but none for the deposition of St Paul. Note also that the Cotton-Corpus legendary, like Ælfric, does not provide pieces for the conversion of St Paul and for Tiburtius and Valerian.

³¹ To these thirty-four parallels add St Paul and Tiburtius and Valerian; see above, n. 30.

Sts Philip and James (1 May), St Alban (22 June), St Apollinaris (23 July), St James (25 July), Sts *vii dormientes* (27 July), Sts Abdon and Sennen (30 July), Sts Maccabees (1 August), St Oswald (5 August), St Mauricius (22 September), St Dionysius (9 October), Sts Simon and Jude (28 October), St Edmund (20 November), Sts Crisanthus and Daria (29 November), St Eugenia (25 December).³² Several points emerge from these comparative statistics. It is obvious that there is a striking agreement in the saints commemorated in the Benedictional and Ælfric's *sanctoreale*. Such agreement is all the more striking when we consider that the Benedictional and Ælfric commemorate a rather limited number of saints in comparison with (say) a liturgical calendar.³³ Four of the twenty-one feasts found in Ælfric but not in the Benedictional (*Quadragesima milites*, Sts Maccabees, St Mauricius and his companions and St Dionysius and his companions) are celebrated by *vitae* of the type favoured by Ælfric, namely that of a group of associates offering stout collective resistance towards tyrants and persecution.³⁴ Four again of the twenty-one additions (Sts Cuthbert, Alban, Oswald and Edmund) commemorate English or British saints. Two of the twenty-one commemorate a virgin couple suffering persecution and death (Sts Julian and Basilissa, and Crisanthus and Daria). The choice of Sts Julian and Basilissa is certainly an eccentric one. The pair is commemorated in three calendars only; their cult, therefore, cannot have been widespread. The date (13 January) against which Ælfric placed their *vitae* is given in none of these calendars for their feast, and may have been taken from the Cotton-Corpus legendary.³⁵ In any case, the version in Cotton-

³² This gives us a total of twenty-one additional commemorations in Ælfric's *sanctoreale*. For the aforementioned number of fifty-four feast days in Ælfric's *sanctoreale* we must add thirty-five parallels between Ælfric and the Benedictional and subtract the Lives of Sts Eugenia (25 December) and Basilus (1 January), dates on which Ælfric and the Benedictional agree in commemorating Christ's Nativity and the Octave of Christmas, but where the Benedictional does not commemorate Eugenia and Basilus. (The discrepancy between the thirty-five parallels in the Benedictional and Ælfric counted here and the thirty-six given above is explained by Caecilia and Tiburtius and Valerian being accorded two feast days in the Benedictional but only one in Ælfric; see above, n. 30.)

³³ Thirty-eight blessings in the Benedictional, fifty-four feasts in Ælfric's *sanctoreale* against 209 to 226 feasts in the Winchester calendars; see above, p. 33.

³⁴ For Ælfric's penchant for this type, see above, pp. 34–35.

³⁵ For the commemoration of Sts Julian and Basilissa in Anglo-Saxon calendars and the possible connection with the Cotton-Corpus legendary, see Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctoreale*", 123.

Corpus seems to have provided the source for Ælfric's Life.³⁶ The version closest to Ælfric's Life of Sts Crisanthus and Daria also seems to have been the one preserved in Cotton-Corpus.³⁷ The Lives of Sts Crisanthus and Daria and Julian and Basilissa are also told in two longish and memorable episodes in successive chapters in Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate*.³⁸ One may ask, therefore, whether the inclusion of their Lives and Ælfric's apparent penchant for this type of Life in general may owe something to his Winchester training, where Aldhelm will have been the best-read author in the curriculum.³⁹ Other saints commemorated by Ælfric but without special blessings in the Benedictional include St Mark the Evangelist, the apostles Sts Philip and James the Less, and St James, as well as St Benedict's (alleged) principal alumnus St Maur. In other words, the additional items in Ælfric's *sanctorale* do not appear to have been included haphazardly: there is clearly an emphasis on saints celebrated throughout England and on types of saints' *vitae* for which Ælfric seems to have had a predilection and which he may have considered relevant to contemporary political conditions. In evaluating Ælfric's additions to Æthelwold's Benedictional we also have to bear in mind that the Benedictional has a number of generalized blessings, applicable, for example, to the feast of

³⁶ See E. G. Whatley, "An Introduction to the Study of Old English Prose Hagiography: Sources and Resources", in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, 3–32, here 14.

³⁷ See Zettel, "Saints' Lives in Old English", 37.

³⁸ See *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi* 15 (Berlin, 1919), chaps. 35 and 36, pp. 276–84; trans. M. Lapidge, in idem, and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1985), 96–102.

³⁹ A further instance where Ælfric's *sanctorale* may have been influenced by the prose *De uirginitate* is the coupling of the Lives of Sts Agatha and Lucy as *Lives of Saints*, nos. 8 and 9, a coupling by which the chronology of the collection is disturbed. Agatha's *vita* is told against its correct date (5 February); it is followed by that of Lucy for which no date is given (the correct date would have been 13 December). An explanation of why Ælfric chose this peculiar place for St Lucy's *vita* may be found in the prose *De uirginitate*, chaps. 41 and 42, where the Lives of Agatha and Lucy are linked, and where Aldhelm has a remark to the effect that their *passiones* should be coupled on the authority of St Gregory who stipulated that Agatha and Lucy should be invoked together in the daily litany at mass: see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, 293–94; trans. Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, 107–9. Note that in the litanies surviving from Anglo-Saxon England Agatha and Lucy occur together only in twelve litanies, whereas they are invoked separately in twenty-eight litanies. (The litanies have been ptd. by M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS 106 [London, 1991].) Note also that in the Cotton-Corpus legendary the Lives of Agatha and Lucy are entered against their correct dates and are thus far apart.

"One Apostle", "One Martyr" or "Many Confessors".⁴⁰ It is at least conceivable, therefore, that some of the feasts which were provided with a Life by Ælfric were already commemorated by such generalized blessings while Ælfric was still under Æthelwold's tutelage.

The overall orthodoxy of Ælfric's additions to the Benedictional is further revealed by the fact that most of them are represented with mass sets in eleventh-century English sacramentaries. We may take as a base for comparison three such sacramentaries: the Winchcombe Sacramentary,⁴¹ the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges,⁴² and the New Minster Missal.⁴³ Here we find that with a very few exceptions Ælfric's additional saints are provided with mass sets in at least two, but mostly all three of these sacramentaries.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the exceptions are: Sts Julian and Basilissa, Sts *Quadraginta milites* and St Eugenia which are omitted from all three sacramentaries. In the case of St Eugenia we have seen (p. 37) that Ælfric's choice was influenced by his adherence to the Cotton-Corpus legendary, while for Sts Julian and Basilissa and *Quadraginta milites* the negative evidence from the sacramentaries confirms the suspicion that Ælfric had a special predilection for these types of saints' *vitae*.

We have seen that, as opposed to the twenty-one feasts added by Ælfric to the specific blessings of the Benedictional, there are only two saints celebrated by blessings in the Benedictional but omitted by Ælfric: St Vedastus and St Ambrose. Why does Ælfric, in the context of his considerable additions to the Benedictional's feasts, omit these saints? They were not obscure saints. Ambrose, together with Augustine, Jerome and Gregory, was one of the Doctors of the Church. Vedastus (with a cult originating at Saint-Vaast in Arras) belongs with the group of Frankish and Flemish saints who were widely venerated in late Anglo-Saxon England,

⁴⁰ See Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 131–32, nos. 169–76.

⁴¹ Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 127 (105), s. xith, from Winchcombe or Ramsey (?), ed. A. Davril, *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, HBS 109 (London, 1995).

⁴² Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 274 (Y 6), 1014 x 1023, from Peterborough or Ely (?), ed. H. A. Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, HBS 11 (London, 1896).

⁴³ Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale 330, s. xi², from the New Minster, Winchester, ed. D. H. Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, HBS 93 (London, 1962).

⁴⁴ But note that St Basilus has a mass set in the sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges only.

with Winchester being a prominent centre of his cult, as is testified, for example, by a number of liturgical books from Æthelwold's Winchester and from the following decades.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Alcuin's Life of St Vedastus was laid under contribution by Ælfric's colleague Wulfstan of Winchester in the prologue to his Life of St Æthelwold.⁴⁶ And the Cotton-Corpus legendary, so important for Ælfric's *sanctorale*, shows an especial veneration for St Vedastus by its inclusion of Alcuin's *Vita S. Vedasti* and his *Homilia in die natali S. Vedasti*.⁴⁷ There is no certain answer to the question why Ælfric should have omitted these two saints; there are, however, some clues. As to St Ambrose, it may be relevant to observe that, apart from St Gregory, he is the only Doctor of the Church who is assigned an especial blessing in the Benedictional. By keeping Gregory but omitting Ambrose Ælfric may have intended to emphasize his inclusion of St Gregory. But equally, the explanation may be wholly technical: in April (St Ambrose would have been on 4 April), Ælfric's *sanctorale* commemorates no saint before the 23rd (St George), no doubt because space was reserved for the important feasts of the *temporale* connected with Easter. It may also be worth recording that the blessings for Ambrose in the Benedictional carry no individual traits but belong to the generalized type of blessings that were freely interchangeable between saints and feasts in later benedictionals. Thus, in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12052), a French manuscript of the tenth century which incorporates an English benedictional closely related to Æthelwold,⁴⁸ Æthelwold's blessings for St Ambrose were assigned to St Cuthbert and St Benedict respectively.⁴⁹ Likewise, in the Canterbury Benedictional (London, British Library, Harley 2892), compiled shortly

⁴⁵ For the especial cult of Vedastus in late tenth- and eleventh-century Winchester, see Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", 120–21, and idem, in *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), lxvi, lxxxix.

⁴⁶ Alcuin's Life of St Vedastus is printed PL 101: 665–678; the parallels between this text and Wulfstan's Life of Æthelwold are pointed out (and printed) by W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1986), 4.1: 253. I owe this reference to Michael Lapidge.

⁴⁷ See Jackson and Lapidge, "Contents of Cotton-Corpus", 141, nos. 120–21.

⁴⁸ For the date and provenance of the Sacramentary of Ratoldus, see, briefly, Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 135–36, and cf. the list of its blessings, *ibid.*, 136–40.

⁴⁹ See Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 137, nos. 35 and 36.

after 1023 at Canterbury, Æthelwold's blessings for St Ambrose were assigned, as a second set of blessings, to St Benedict.⁵⁰ Similarly, St Vedastus is given only a generalized set of blessings in Æthelwold's *Benedictional*, and this set recurs in the closely related *Anderson Pontifical* (London, British Library, Add. 57337, s. x/xi, from Christ Church, Canterbury), as attached to St Cuthbert.⁵¹ As to Ælfric's omission of St Vedastus, we should also recall that Ælfric commemorates none of the other northern French or Flemish saints who were celebrated in late Anglo-Saxon England, and we have to bear in mind that Vedastus is the only such saint commemorated in the *Benedictional*, and that this may reflect an especial attachment of Bishop Æthelwold to the saint. We should consider further that Alcuin's *Life of St Vedastus* does not represent the genre of heroic saints' *vitae* for which Ælfric seems to have had a penchant; that apart from a cult based principally at late tenth- and eleventh-century Winchester, Vedastus has no connection with English history or church history; that Ælfric could, on occasion, differ radically from Winchester's liturgical practice; and that his *sanctorale* is not compiled primarily with a Winchester monastic audience in mind.

We may now look briefly at some parallels between the iconography of the *Benedictional* and the representation of saints and feasts in Ælfric's *sanctorale*. To begin with, it is striking that all of the *Benedictional*'s miniatures for saints and feasts of the *sanctorale* are represented with narrative pieces in Ælfric's cycles.⁵² The feast of Epiphany (6 January) is the only feast which is represented with two full-page miniatures in the *Benedictional*. Both miniatures are facing each other at one opening of the manuscript: fol. 24v contains a depiction of the Adoration of the Magi, and fol. 25r an illustration of the Baptism of Christ.⁵³ The illustrations refer to

⁵⁰ See A. Prescott, "The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals", *British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 118–58, here 152, no. 195; for the Canterbury *Benedictional*, cf. *ibid.*, 132.

⁵¹ On the *benedictional* in the *Anderson Pontifical*, see Prescott, "Structure", 121–23, and cf. the table of contents, *ibid.*, 134–38.

⁵² Note that there were losses from the miniatures of the *Benedictional*, which, for the feast miniatures, can, however, be safely reconstructed from the surviving blessings: the Massacre of the Innocents, St Michael, the Nativity of the Virgin. These too are represented by pieces in Ælfric's *sanctorale*. For the lost miniatures, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, 258–59.

⁵³ Cf. Deshman, *Benedictional*, plates 18 and 19. In addition to Deshman's reproduction of all the full-page illustrations in the *Benedictional*, the entire book is now avail-

each other in their iconography, and this iconography is centrally important for a principal message of the Benedictional: the imperial and Christological conception of kingship, a conception which stood, for example, behind Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973, the occasion for which the Benedictional was arguably produced.⁵⁴ According to this conception Christ is "king of kings", and the earthly king is seen as Christ's vicar on earth, *rex et sacerdos*. The iconography in both miniatures is strikingly innovative, especially with regard to the symbolism of crowns and other imperial insignia, but the importance and symbolism of baptism *per se*, not only its association with a king's coronation, is also stressed.⁵⁵ Originally, both forms of Christ's *epiphaneia* or "manifestation", the Adoration of the Magi and his baptism, had been celebrated on 6 January, but by the tenth century, it was the feast of the Adoration of the Magi which was universally, and almost exclusively, celebrated by the Western church.⁵⁶ The Benedictional, however, not only has, uniquely among its illustrations, two miniatures for a single feast, depicting its dual significance, but here Epiphany is provided also with two sets of blessings, the first commemorating the Adoration of the Magi, the second the Baptism.⁵⁷ This representation of Epiphany in the Benedictional has a close parallel in Ælfric. Both series of the *Catholic Homilies* contain a homily on Epiphany. In the first series the Adoration of the Magi is related and expounded,⁵⁸ and the homily of the second series is devoted to an exposition of Christ's Baptism along the lines of the Benedictional, stressing the general symbolism of baptism.⁵⁹ Another striking parallel between the Benedictional and Ælfric's *sanctorale* emerges when we look at the groupings of a number of important saints. The first of these groupings concerns Sts Gregory (12

lable in a (reasonably priced) facsimile edition: *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold. A Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art. A Facsimile*, intro. A. Prescott (London, 2002).

⁵⁴ For the possible date of the Benedictional, see above, p. 37, n. 27.

⁵⁵ For a searching interpretation of the pictures, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, 45–52.

⁵⁶ For the origin and development of the feast, see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, 3rd ed. by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997), 554, s.v. Epiphany (with further literature).

⁵⁷ Cf. Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 128, nos. 24 and 25, CBP nos. 732 and 1087. Both these blessings make mention also of Christ's presence at the Wedding of Cana, which was a "manifestation" also remembered on Epiphany.

⁵⁸ See Clemoes, *CH* 1, 232–48; here Ælfric refers briefly also to the Wedding at Cana.

⁵⁹ See Godden, *CH* 2, 19–28.

March), Cuthbert (20 March), and Benedict (21 March). The Lives of the three saints occur in a series in *Catholic Homilies* II.⁶⁰ For all three the date for their commemoration is the feast of their deposition. In the case of St Benedict Ælfric's failure to commemorate his translation (11 July), the more prominent feast in Benedictine houses, has elicited scholarly comment,⁶¹ and in the Benedictional it is the *translatio*, not the *depositio*, which is commemorated by a series of blessings and by a feast picture fraught with symbolism and spiritual significance.⁶² However, the *spiritus rector* behind the Benedictional was the man whose uncompromising commitment to Benedictine monasticism was unparalleled in Anglo-Saxon England, whereas Ælfric was aiming at a lay audience. It is also relevant to note that even in the Benedictional it is only one feast of St Benedict which is commemorated, not, as often in later benedictionals and sacramentaries, the translation *and* the deposition. In any event, the discrepancy between the Benedictional and Ælfric's *sanctorale* in their choice of St Benedict's feast day pales when we look at the three saints as a group. Apart from the uniformity within the group which is provided by Ælfric celebrating in each case the deposition, his choice of these specific feast days allows him to deal with the three saints in a row (12, 20, 21 March), which would not have been possible by choosing the feast of 11 July for St Benedict. It is obvious that the three saints, Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict, are of paramount importance for the English church, and arranging their *vitae* in a series stresses their collective importance. It is surely significant to find this arrangement of Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict as a group adumbrated in the iconography of the Benedictional. In the miniature of the choir of confessors⁶³ they are depicted full-length, side-by-side in the foreground (with St Benedict in the middle). The heads and shoulders of four further confessors fill in the background, but Benedict, Gregory and Cuthbert are the only confessors identified by their names. Furthermore,

⁶⁰ No. 9: Gregory, no. 10: Cuthbert, no 11: Benedict.

⁶¹ See Lapidge, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*", 120.

⁶² The blessings are listed by Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 131, no. 146; CBP 1770 (of English origin); for an interpretation of the feast picture (fol. 99v; Deshman, pl. 33), see Deshman, *Benedictional*, 117–31; for a connection between the iconographic message of the miniature and scholarly work on Old English vocabulary, see M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge, 1999), 296–310.

⁶³ On fol. 1v, Deshman, *Benedictional*, plate 1.

it is interesting to note that St Gregory is given a set of blessings on his feast day,⁶⁴ but no feast picture, while St Cuthbert has no specific blessing and hence no feast picture either. However, Cuthbert's iconographic prominence in the choir of confessors makes it almost certain that he too was commemorated, and that the Benedictional's blessings for "One Bishop Confessor"⁶⁵ was presumably said on his feast day. In other words, Ælfric is elaborating on an association of the three saints which occurs in a prominent position in the Benedictional but not yet in its text and its feast miniatures.

Given the central role assigned to Gregory, both by the Benedictional and by Ælfric, one wonders whether the Benedictional's and Ælfric's omission of St Augustine of Canterbury may not be interconnected.⁶⁶ St Augustine is provided with special blessings in later benedictionals, such as the Anderson Pontifical or the Canterbury Benedictional,⁶⁷ as well as with mass sets in sacramentaries,⁶⁸ and there is an anonymous vernacular *vita*, preserved in fragmentary form in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, p. 563.⁶⁹ Ælfric, however, does not include Augustine among his additions to the Benedictional's saints, but prefers to incorporate what information he provides concerning St Augustine's missionary activities in his account of St Gregory. Ælfric's virtual omission of Augustine not only has a parallel in the Benedictional: it also brings to mind the lengthy preface to Æthelwold's translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*, where Augustine's importance is played down in order to stress the central role taken by Gregory in the conversion of the English.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ See Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 129, no. 43, CBP 807.

⁶⁵ See Prescott, "Text of the Benedictional", 132, no. 173, CBP 1733.

⁶⁶ Recall that of the four Doctors of the Church, Ælfric celebrates St Gregory alone, while in the Benedictional he is joined by St Ambrose who is, however, not assigned an individual blessing; see above, p. 41.

⁶⁷ See Prescott, "Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals", 138, no. 150, and 152, no. 212.

⁶⁸ Of the three eleventh-century sacramentaries mentioned above (p. 41), St Augustine is given an especial mass set in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (ed. Wilson, 177), and the New Minster Missal (ed. Turner, 98).

⁶⁹ Printed by H. Tristram, "Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., Freiburg University, 1970), 428–29; but earlier (and unnoticed by Tristram), by Elizabeth Elstob, *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* (London, 1709), Appendix, 33–34.

⁷⁰ For an edition and translation of the preface, see D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and

Another group of saints is formed by Sts Æthelthryth and Swithun. Their *vitae* occur as nos. xx (Æthelthryth, 23 June) and xxi (Swithun, 2 July) of the *Lives of Saints*. Again it is the *depositio* that is commemorated for both saints, which in the case of St Swithun is somewhat peculiar, since, by the time Ælfric was writing, his *translatio*, which had been staged by Bishop Æthelwold on 15 July 971, seems to have gained at least equal importance.⁷¹ Again, one reason for Ælfric's choice of the feast days must have been to commemorate the same type of feast for both saints.⁷² Curiously, at first sight, the Benedictional agrees with Ælfric's *sanctorale* in assigning the blessings and feast picture for St Swithun to July 2. This assignment, which seems noteworthy in view of Æthelwold himself effecting Swithun's translation on 15 July 971, may, perhaps, be economically explained on the assumption that July 15 only gained importance as the second and, in the event, principal feast of St Swithun in the course of the 970s and that, if (as seems plausible) the Benedictional was produced for Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973, it certainly will have been planned some time earlier.

There are further parallels between Swithun's and Æthelthryth's representation by Ælfric and in the Benedictional (text and iconography), inasmuch as Swithun is treated in both places in a highly conventional manner, whereas the representation of Æthelthryth is replete with individualistic and biographical detail.⁷³ Yet, notwithstanding the utterly dif-

C. N. L. Brooke, ed., *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church I: A.D. 871-1204* (Oxford, 1981), 1: 142-54.

⁷¹ The *Lives of Saints* cannot be later than c. 998: they are dedicated to Ealdorman Æthelweard, whose last attestation of a charter occurs in 998 (P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* [London, 1968], no. 895), and who presumably died in this year or shortly afterwards: see S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred "The Unready", 978-1016* (Cambridge, 1980), 192 and n. 139. For the importance of Swithun's *translatio*, see M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (forthcoming) and, meanwhile, briefly, idem, "Swithun", in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg (Oxford, 1999), 437. According to Michael Lapidge (pers. comm.) the scarce liturgical evidence from late tenth-century Winchester does not point conclusively to a greater prominence of the feast of the *translatio* during that time.

⁷² Note that if the date for St Swithun would have been 15 July instead of 2 July, he still would have come next to St Æthelthryth in the *sanctorale* of the *Lives of Saints*, so the type of feast — the deposition in both cases — must have mattered to Ælfric.

⁷³ For an interpretation of the iconographic representation of Æthelthryth and Swithun, see Dushman, *Benedictional*, 121-24 and 138-39. For Æthelthryth both, the ar-

ferent kind of historical evidence which was available for both saints, Æthelthryth and Swithun are assigned important roles, both by Ælfric and the Benedictional, as prototypically English saints. Like Sts Benedict, Gregory and Cuthbert, both Æthelthryth and Swithun seem to have been incorporated in the Benedictional's prefatory cycle of miniatures of choirs of apostles and saints. For Æthelthryth the evidence is still available: in the choir of virgins, which has been preserved in *toto*,⁷⁴ Æthelthryth together with St Mary Magdalene are the only virgins identified by name and distinguished by their position in the foreground, and by the depiction of a gold nimbus round their heads, while all the other virgins wear crowns.⁷⁵ For St Swithun the Benedictional's evidence must be reconstructed, since the initial choir of confessors has been mutilated by the cutting out of leaves. But Robert Deshman has advanced compelling reasons for thinking that St Swithun, named and distinguished in representation, was one of the saints in the now missing part of the choir of confessors.⁷⁶

Given these obvious parallels between Ælfric's *sanctorale* and the Benedictional it may not be unreasonable to assume that, on close inspection and comparison, further links between them will come to light, and that such links will not be restricted to the *sanctorale* parts of the liturgical year but will also extend to its *temporale*.⁷⁷ It will be necessary, therefore, in our search for the *fontes* for Ælfric's great cycles of homilies and saints' lives to move beyond the written word and consider the shaping influences on these cycles of great works of art, produced in honour of God and his saints, such as the Benedictional of Æthelwold. Ælfric, who took great pride in being a Winchester *alumnus*, and who through all his life

tists of the Benedictional and Ælfric, had recourse to the report of her given by Bede: cf. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 4.19–20 (pp. 391–401). In the case of Swithun, the lack of biographical detail elicits a critical comment from Ælfric (cf. *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 1: 441–42), and consequently he resorts largely to a narration of Swithun's *post-mortem* miracles.

⁷⁴ On fols. 1v–2r, Deshman, *Benedictional*, plates 2 and 3.

⁷⁵ Cf. Deshman, *Benedictional*, 151.

⁷⁶ See Deshman, *Benedictional*, 151–52; for the lost leaves at the beginning of the Benedictional, see *ibid.*, 146, 257–60.

⁷⁷ One such link for the *temporale* may be formed by the representation of the Ascension in the Benedictional and Ælfric's homily for this occasion: see Benedictional, fol. 64v, Deshman, *Benedictional*, plate 25 and pp. 58–62, and Clemoes, *CH* 1, 345–53.

felt a deep veneration for his master Æthelwold, will no doubt have had an intimate acquaintance with Æthelwold's most lavish book. Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that not only the iconography but also the textual structure of the Benedictional was innovative, elaborate and influential. The text of the Benedictional is a scholarly compilation which systematically provides, for the feasts of the *sanctorale* and the *temporale*, the blessings of the two principal traditions of the genre, namely the so-called "Gallican" and "Gregorian" benedictions, and which includes a substantial number of benedictions not found in any source and therefore presumably composed either by Æthelwold himself or under his supervision.⁷⁸ The texts of all benedictionals which have survived, in surprisingly large numbers, from late Anglo-Saxon England ultimately derive from Æthelwold's Benedictional,⁷⁹ and the composition of new blessings for a benedictional seems to have ranked high among the intellectual activities of Æthelwoldian and post-Æthelwoldian Winchester.⁸⁰ It is entirely conceivable therefore that, while at Winchester, Ælfric himself was involved in the composition of such blessings, and that such involvement in turn may well have contributed to his readiness to let himself be guided by the model benedictional in the choice and representation of the saints in his cycles.

It would be interesting to know whether the dedicatees of the *Lives of Saints*, Ealdorman Æthelweard and his son, the thegn Æthelmær, together with the other experienced and pious laymen who were prominent at King Æthelred's court around the millennium and who may have formed the first reading public for Ælfric's saints' lives and homilies, would have been in a position to perceive and appraise the links between the Benedictional

⁷⁸ For the text of the Benedictional, see Prescott, "Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals", 119–21, and idem, "Text of the Benedictional", 128–32 (table 1), where the sources for each of the benedictions are listed. For the "English" benedictions, see also Lapidge, *Wulfstan: Life*, lxxix–lxxxiii.

⁷⁹ For the books in question, see Prescott, "Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals", 120–55, with useful lists of the contents and sources for a number of the late Anglo-Saxon benedictionals.

⁸⁰ This tradition of composing new blessings initiated by Æthelwold reached its apogee in the so-called Exeter Benedictional (London, British Library, Add. 28188), probably written at Exeter, s. xi^{3/4}, but based on an earlier text which was probably compiled at Winchester in the early eleventh century: cf. Prescott, "Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals", 130.

and Ælfric's *sanctorale*.⁸¹ Certainty is not possible but in addressing the question it is important to note that the blessings of a benedictional occupied a prominent and prestigious place in a part of the liturgy which provided for an active participation of the laity: the blessings were said during mass on Sundays and feast days after the *Pater noster* and immediately before communion, and they could be pronounced by a bishop only. As to the possibility of an inspection of Æthelwold's Benedictional by lay persons (at least those of some standing) we have seen that the Benedictional furnishes much of the ideological background of Edgar's rule and coronation, and hence may have always been intended for public display in the church on certain occasions. Interestingly, the dedication poem of the Benedictional, composed and written by Æthelwold's pupil Godeman (the scribe of the Benedictional and latterly abbot of Thorney) expressly mentions future contemplation of the book.⁸² Around the millennium the reign of King Edgar was viewed with nostalgia as a bygone Golden Age,⁸³ and as an age whose notion of kingship and successful administration of the body politic was perceived as still valid, so, probably, the Benedictional's iconographic message will not have been lost on the great and the good of Ælfric's generation. It is possible, therefore, that there is a political as well as a spiritual dimension to the links between the Benedictional of Æthelwold and Ælfric's *sanctorale*.⁸⁴

⁸¹ For this group of ealdormen and thegns who on charter evidence were prominent in Æthelred's entourage in the 990s and the first years of the new millennium, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, 191–93, 209–13, and idem, "Apocalypse Then: England AD 1000", in *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. P. Urbańczyk (Warsaw, 2001), 247–69, at 261–64.

⁸² Cf. "omnes cernentes biblum"; Godeman's poem is printed by M. Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature", in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1996), 105–49, at 143–44; the quotation is in line 36 (the article was originally published in ASE 4 [1975], 67–111). The translation of the poem by F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (London, 1959), 7–8, is repr. by Deshman, *Benedictional*, 148. The poem also provides important contemporary evidence for Æthelwold's personal involvement in the production of the Benedictional.

⁸³ See, for example, Ælfric's retrospection at the end of his *Life of St Swithun: Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat 1: 468–70; and cf. his similar remarks in "The Prayer of Moses" (*ibid.*, 294), and in his "Epilogue" to the Old English Heptateuch (ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 [London, 1922], 416–17). For Archbishop Wulfstan's laws looking back to King Edgar's legislation, see. P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 1: 457, 463–64, and *passim*.

⁸⁴ I am grateful to Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, who read this article in typescript and, as always, made many helpful suggestions.

JOYCE HILL

Ælfric's Authorities

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project, Don Scragg has been the Director for Old English, and although there have been numerous other occasions when we have worked together, this project has been a constant thread in both of our lives since the mid-1980s. The purpose of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* is, in brief, to establish a database of all written sources used in Anglo-Saxon England, whether in Old English or Anglo-Latin texts, by exploiting existing scholarship and by undertaking new analysis. Work continues, but the database is already substantial and is available in searchable form at <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>>. It can be interrogated in a number of ways, working with the analysed text to discover which sources were used, or working with the source texts to discover what was available and in which Anglo-Saxon texts particular sources were employed. The information is valuable as it stands as a contribution to the study of Anglo-Saxon intellectual history, but it is also a platform for approaching larger questions about textual cultures, the transmission of ideas, and the working practices of Anglo-Saxon authors and compilers. Don's own research is entirely in harmony with this: through his close attention to the primary texts and his analysis of recensions and textual transmission, he has contributed significantly to our understanding of the larger picture of what shaped the ideas of the vernacular author, how those ideas were conveyed and received, and what, therefore, we can learn from the surviving written record of the place of the Anglo-Saxons in early medieval culture. In a volume celebrating Don's achievement, an article which gives further attention to Ælfric's source-authorities conse-

quently seems an appropriate contribution: above all, it is a topic for Don in being on Old English homilies.

§

The examples in this study will be homilies VII, X, and XVII in Pope's *Supplementary Homilies*.¹ However, we cannot treat these independently of Ælfric's two series of *Catholic Homilies* since Pope's edition of the *Supplementary Homilies* provides us with the textual materials which witness to Ælfric's continuing work on his *temporale* sequence.² Furthermore, although not all of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* are exegeses of the day's prescribed lection, most are, and so also are the three homilies to be considered here, so that it is legitimate to take as a starting point the frame of reference set up by the *Catholic Homilies* before using these three later works to pose questions about Ælfric's textual traditions and our interpretations of them.

The evidence within the exegetical *Catholic Homilies* seems very straightforward. Ælfric frequently underscores his orthodoxy and validates his interpretations by naming the authority he is following: Gregory the Great is most frequently invoked, then Bede, Augustine, and Jerome, in descending order. There are also three occasions when Ælfric names Carolingian authorities: Haymo in two of the First Series homilies (I. 8 and I. 34) and Amalarius in a Second Series homily (II. 5). In the Latin letter sent to Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, to accompany his copy of the First Series, Amalarius is not named (he is not cited in the First Series), but the five other names are all listed and another Carolingian, Smaragdus, is included in the list as if he is of equal importance with the Fathers; Haymo, by contrast, is singled out as being used only "sometimes":

Hos namque auctores in hac explanatione sumus secuti. uidelicet Augustinum. ypponiensem. Hieronimum. Bedam. Gregorium. Sma-

¹ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*.

² For a discussion of the evolution of Ælfric's *temporale* homilies, see P. A. M. Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. idem (London, 1959), 212-47, with further detail in the introductions to Clemoes, CH 1, and Godden, CH 2. All subsequent references to the *Catholic Homilies* are to these editions.

ragdum, et aliquando Hægmonem; Horum denique auctoritas ab omnibus catholicis. libentissime suscipitur.³

[For, indeed, we have followed these authors in this exposition: namely, Augustine of Hippo, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus, and sometimes Haymo, for the authority of these is most willingly acknowledged by all the orthodox.]

We should not be surprised by what appears to be a discrepancy between Ælfric's statement of principles in the letter and his practice within the homilies themselves, since the letter was not written as part of the *Catholic Homilies* and it has its own quite distinct function and rhetorical context. The Latin letter seeks the approval of an ecclesiastical superior, and justifies Ælfric's decision to offer patristic orthodoxy to the laity through complex rhetorical manoeuvring, which I have discussed in detail elsewhere.⁴ In this context, one might expect to find a more complicated statement of source authorisation than in the homilies themselves where, by contrast, the language is the vernacular, the audience are the relatively unlearned priests of the secular church and their lay congregations, and Ælfric's primary purpose was to give a clear and reassuring validation by invoking the names of the Fathers.

The selective naming of authorities within the homilies themselves is easy to understand, although, as modern scholarship has shown, Ælfric used more authorities than he names, which he had access to either directly or via various compendia, several of which we have probably not yet identified.⁵ What is more difficult to discern is the significance of the information he provides for Sigeric. One way of reading the letter is as a kind of *apologia* with a political as well as a personal dimension. Thus Ælfric, in defending his position and in championing his own orthodoxy, lists on equal terms the four names which collectively represent the patristic tradition, even though there is a marked difference in the extent to

³ Clemoes, CH 1, 173. The modern English translation is taken from Jonathan Wilcox, ed., *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1994), 127.

⁴ Joyce Hill, "Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 79 (1997): 43–65.

⁵ See now the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database and Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS s.s. 18 (Oxford, 2000).

which he uses them. Yet, at the same time as signalling his Benedictine Reform credentials by his claim to patristic orthodoxy, he also draws attention to his position within the Reform by naming two of the notable Carolingian authorities, Smaragdus and Haymo, references that would carry much more weight with Sigeric than with the primary audience of the *Catholic Homilies*. But there is still more that needs to be uncovered before we can begin to judge how to use the information provided and so interpret Ælfric's use of source authorities.

Modern scholarship has shown that a great deal of the patristic homiletic material used by Ælfric and referred to by the names of the first four authors in the letter to Sigeric and in the homilies themselves was available to him in the popular Carolingian homiliary of Paul the Deacon,⁶ so that the sentence in the Sigeric letter itemising Ælfric's sources could be seen as a reference not to six named orthodox authors consulted by reference to discrete works, but to three Carolingian homiliaries, which came into England with the Benedictine Reform. There is no doubt that Ælfric had available to him the homiliaries of Paul the Deacon, Smaragdus,⁷ and Haymo,⁸ but, as I have argued elsewhere, that of Paul the Deacon, which he had in a somewhat augmented form, probably lacked the attribution to its compiler.⁹ Ælfric would have seen it instead as an anthology of homiletic exegesis on the familiar lections of the liturgical year, with each item attributed to its patristic author. If he had known that Paul the Deacon was the compiler, he might have signalled this to Sigeric in further confirmation of his Benedictine Reform credentials, given the dependence of the Anglo-Saxon Reform on Carolingian models and texts. But it is not

⁶ Cyril L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary," *Traditio* 15 (1959): 163–204. The contents of Paul's homiliary are listed by Smetana, following Friedrich Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht*, Studium zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 1. 2 (Leipzig, 1897), but one should now consult Réginald Grégoire, *Les homéliaires du moyen âge: Inventaire et analyse des manuscrits*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes* 6 (Vatican City, 1966), 71–114, and the further update in idem, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse des manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali (Spoleto, 1980), 423–78.

⁷ Joyce Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus," *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992): 203–37. The only edition of Smaragdus's homiliary is Migne, PL 102: 14–551.

⁸ Cyril L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt," *Traditio* 17 (1961): 457–69. The Haymo who produced this homiliary is now known to be Haymo of Auxerre. The only edition of Haymo's homiliary is Migne, PL 118: 11–746.

⁹ Hill, "Translating the Tradition," 50–54.

inevitable that he would have done so, since the homiliary of Paul, as an anthology, gave one direct access to whole texts of the Fathers, clearly identified, so that it would have been equally proper to refer to the authors rather than the compiler, even in writing to Sigeric, and certainly within the homilies themselves. Smaragdus's homiliary likewise gave Ælfric direct and highly visible access to the words of the named Fathers through its marginal annotations noting the source authority for particular passages, thus reinforcing Ælfric's claim to be working within this chain of authority, and allowing him within the homilies to continue with the powerful practice of naming the Fathers rather than any intermediary.¹⁰ Yet each of Smaragdus's exegetical interpretations of the lection was itself a unique *compilatio*, which means that, although each gave direct access to the words of the Fathers, clearly identified in the margins, each homily was, in another sense, Smaragdus's own, in a way that was not true of the items in the anthology compiled by Paul. Haymo's homiliary is different again: it is as patristic as the other two, but the authors are not identified and the dependence on patristic texts is not by sustained verbatim extracts, so that, if material drawn from Haymo is to be "authorised" by naming the authority, that authority has to be Haymo himself, *faute de mieux*: hence the two references to him by name within the homilies, alongside the overwhelming preference for the Fathers, who could be named whenever Ælfric had his eye on the homiliaries of either Paul or Smaragdus. As for the reference to Haymo being used "aliquando" ("sometimes"), I believe that is because he used Haymo's homiliary in a different way from the other two, drawing upon him frequently, but for particular details and as a prompt for biblical associations, rather than for sustained passages of attributable interpretation.¹¹

The *compilatio* method of composition, to which Ælfric subscribes, causes great difficulty for those who wish to identify sources and trace the transmission of ideas. There is, of course, the difficult problem about what we identify as the source: the ultimate source (which is what Ælfric appropriately points to within the homilies) or the immediate source text from

¹⁰ Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus," 234–37, discusses the marginal annotations in the manuscripts of Smaragdus's homiliary and the way in which these are represented in the edition of PL.

¹¹ The different resources provided by the three homiliaries are discussed more fully in Hill, "Translating the Tradition."

which the material is drawn (to which he alludes at least in part in the letter to Sigeric). But even this is not as simple a choice for the modern scholar as it appears, because the authors anterior even to the Carolingians — who were themselves inveterate *compilatores* — were in turn deeply embedded in an intertextual culture, so that when a Carolingian *compilatio* (which may be Ælfric's immediate source) identifies Bede as the source authority for a particular passage, the ultimate authority may actually be one of the earlier Fathers, such as Gregory or Jerome, from whom Bede took his material. On the other hand, a Carolingian attribution to one of these authorities may in fact be taken over from a marginal annotation in a Bede manuscript serving as the Carolingian writer's immediate source. Thus the source identified by the later writer (such as Ælfric) may be the ultimate source, though transmitted through various intermediaries, or it may be an intermediate source at one remove, which is claimed in all good faith as the ultimate source.¹² But even if this can be disentangled, or at least if all the options can be identified, our questions about sources and thus about textual access and compositional method are still not fully answered because the modern scholar is still left wondering what the immediate source might have been. Furthermore, if there is evidence to point to a range of possible immediate sources, as there often is with Ælfric, there is the added complication that these source manuscripts may have a considerable amount of overlapping material, so that the source-hunter may not be able to decide which one Ælfric used at a given point. The author himself, by contrast, may have had a strong sense that he used one more than the other, or he may simply have had a sense that he found them both indispensable in ways which, retrospectively, he could not or would not think to quantify in any precise fashion.

In his magisterial introduction and commentary on Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, Malcolm Godden professes himself to be puzzled by Ælfric's claim to have used Smaragdus. He accepts, of course, that Ælfric had a copy of his homiliary, and he acknowledges possible influences in nineteen homilies, but he goes on to state that:

¹² For an overview of this intertextuality as developed by Bede and the Carolingians and thus transmitted to Ælfric, see Joyce Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform*, Jarrow Lecture 1998 (Jarrow, 1998). On Bede's identification of source authorities by marginal annotations in the commentaries on Mark and Luke, see M. L. W. Laistner, "Source-Marks in Bede Manuscripts," *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933): 350–54.

Apart from I. 7, I. 27 and esp. II. 8 it is a matter of occasional details which could have come from elsewhere, and Smaragdus is never the sole source. It remains a puzzle to me that Ælfric should cite Smaragdus so prominently in the preface, when Haymo, who is used much more extensively and is much less derivative, is cited as being used merely *aliquando*, and others, such as Alcuin and Julian of Toledo, are not mentioned at all. Perhaps Smaragdus's status as author of a commentary on the Benedictine Rule and a treatise on the monastic life made him a key authority figure for a writer of the monastic movement to cite.¹³

The final sentence of the quotation from Godden points to a political motive for Ælfric's citation of Smaragdus in the letter to Sigeric, which should certainly be given full weight; the letter is, as I have already indicated, an *apologia* in which Ælfric at the same time adopts a polemical position, and the mention of Carolingian authorities — and particularly of this influential monastic authority — was undoubtedly an important tactic. But the rest of Godden's argument is less convincing, since it brings him dangerously close to the position of earlier scholars, such as Förster, Smetana, Pope, and Cross, who admit Smaragdus as a source for Ælfric *only if* the detail cannot be accounted for in any other way.¹⁴ Yet that is not a tenable position from which to conduct the analysis of an author's participation in an intertextual tradition. Authors who are intertextual, particularly if they display this by overt attributions which stand outside the body of the text, as did Bede in his commentaries on Mark and Luke and the majority of Carolingian exegetes, including Paul the Deacon in his homiletic anthology and Smaragdus in his lection-based *compilationes*, are useful to subsequent authors precisely because their patristic attributions verify their participation in a chain of interpretation

¹³ Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, lx.

¹⁴ This problem is discussed with reference to these earlier analyses in Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus." There are further examples in eadem, "Ælfric's Sources Reconsidered: Some Case Studies from the *Catholic Homilies*," in *Studies in English Language and Literature*. 'Doubt wisely': *Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London and New York, 1996), 362–86; and eadem, "Ælfric's Homily on the Holy Innocents: The Sources Reviewed," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson, with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), 89–98.

(making them "derivative" from a modern viewpoint) and precisely because they overlap with each other, allowing the new author to create a modified, new *catena* of authorised material by moving from one to the other at points when the end of an overlap opens up fresh possibilities for textual enrichment. Thus to suggest, as Godden does here, that Haymo has a better *a priori* case for being used than Smaragdus because Haymo is "much less derivative" is to miss the point. If the verbatim textual overlap allowed Ælfric to move more consistently and more easily between Paul the Deacon and Smaragdus than between Haymo and either of the other two, one could well imagine that in summing up he might give Smaragdus a higher position than Haymo; the problem for us is in identifying when he did use or equally well could have used Smaragdus instead of Paul. There is no need, after all, to give priority to the contents of Paul's homiliary over that of Smaragdus when Ælfric is clearly working with material which is common to them both unless, of course, it can be demonstrated that, although the material is ostensibly the same in each, there are in fact elements in one not found in the other which are reflected in Ælfric's text. Furthermore, in studying Ælfric we have to assume a working practice which is relatively flexible, since it can be readily demonstrated that Ælfric was very open to making new combinations from his sources in any given homily.

My supposition has always been that we should at least allow ourselves to test to the full the claims made by Ælfric himself, and that, in doing so, we should pay due regard to the complexities of the intertextual tradition, accepting that it is fundamentally and intentionally derivative, rather than adopting a modern perspective which makes judgments about what, within the tradition, is deemed to be "derivative" and what is not.¹⁵ Bede, for example, in his commentaries on Mark and Luke, where there are marginal annotations of just the kind found in Carolingian compilations, is no less a creator of derivative patristic *catena* than Smaragdus or Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, or Claudius of Turin. In pursuing, over a number of years, the questions of how we identify Ælfric's immediate sources within an intertextual tradition, my detailed examples have been drawn from the

¹⁵ A work of major importance for understanding this fundamental aspect of medieval literary culture is Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994).

Catholic Homilies: I. 5, 7, 21, 33, 40; II. 4, 6, 16, 23, 25.¹⁶ My intention now is to use three homilies from outside the collection as edited by Clemons and Godden, not so much for detailed analyses of the kind I have offered before, as for illustrations of the problems to be faced and the predispositions to be overcome in negotiating the intertextual minefield.

1. POPE, *SUPPLEMENTARY HOMILIES* VII:

DOMINICA QUARTA POST PASCHA (JOHN 16: 5-14).

INTRODUCTION, 333-39. TEXT, 340-50.

Pope identifies Ælfric's chief source as Alcuin's *Commentaria in Ioannis Evangelium*, and he puts forward the possibility that Ælfric may have consulted it directly, although he is also careful to point out that the relevant portion of the commentary was excerpted into certain Carolingian homiliaries to stand as an exegetical homily for the Fourth Sunday after Easter, which has the lection John 16: 5-14. The homiliaries that Pope names are those of Smaragdus and Rabanus Maurus. Pope further notes that Alcuin drew on a homily by Bede, and that Bede's homily was itself in Paul the Deacon's collection. He continues, however, "I have found no evidence that he [sc. Ælfric] made use of anything in it that Alcuin did not include,"¹⁷ the clear implication being that Ælfric actually worked from Alcuin's text rather than the full homily of Bede. The other complexity noted by Pope is that, in addition to using Bede, Alcuin drew on Augustine's *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*. Thus, Augustinian material in Ælfric could well be immediately derived from Alcuin, although in lines 177-180 of the Old English homily Ælfric gives the substance of a passage in Augustine that Alcuin lacks, which leads Pope to surmise (p. 338) that Ælfric had independent access to Augustine's *Tractatus*.¹⁸ Finally, Pope lists Haymo as a possible source, although again there is the

¹⁶ See Hill, "Ælfric and Smaragdus" (I. 33, 40; II. 4, 6, 16); "Ælfric's Sources Reconsidered" (I. 7, 21, II. 23, 25); and "Ælfric's Homily on the Holy Innocents" (I. 5). Some of the homily numbers in Godden's edition of the Second Series differ from the homily numbers in the preceding scholarship, which necessarily referred to Thorpe's nineteenth-century edition.

¹⁷ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 338. The full discussion of the sources of this homily is on pp. 337-38.

¹⁸ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 338.

complication that Haymo's homily LXXXVII is "a modification of Bede's with a good many additions, some of which correspond partially to Alcuin's."¹⁹ In view of Ælfric's known use of Haymo, Pope concludes that Ælfric probably consulted this homily, and that verbal similarity at lines 32–38 warrants the quotation of Haymo as the immediate source for these lines. He goes on:

There is general correspondence at many other points, but nowhere else does Ælfric seem to have preferred Haymo's way of saying things to Alcuin's or Bede's, and at several points his exposition is totally different from Haymo's.²⁰

Alcuin's commentary in its original form does not, of course, relate the exegesis of John 16: 5–14 to the liturgical year, but in all of the Carolingian homily compilations the association is with the Fourth Sunday after Easter: Bede's homily as anthologised in Paul the Deacon; the extract from Alcuin's commentary when used in the homiliaries of Smaragdus and Rabanus Maurus; and the homily of Haymo, which depends in various ways on the Bedan homily and on the Alcuinian passage, as already noted. For someone working within the liturgical framework, as Ælfric was, it would have been easy to have used such homiliaries as he had to hand — and we know that Paul the Deacon, Smaragdus, and Haymo were familiar to him. Since in this instance Rabanus Maurus is identical to Smaragdus and Ælfric's use of Rabanus is not well attested, we can reasonably discount Rabanus as a possible immediate source in favour of Smaragdus. But where does that leave us with respect to Alcuin? The commentary would have to have been consulted as a discrete work, if Alcuin is really to be seen as the immediate source. Yet the whole of the relevant passage from Alcuin is also in Smaragdus, beginning and ending at the right point and associated with the correct day, here defined as the Third Sunday after the Octave of Easter (PL 102: 296–299). For practical reasons, therefore, it seems inherently more likely that Ælfric's immediate source was Smaragdus rather than Alcuin.

¹⁹ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 338.

²⁰ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 338.

**2. POPE SUPPLEMENTARY HOMILIES X:
DOMINICA PENTECOSTEN (JOHN 14: 23–31).
INTRODUCTION, 393–95. TEXT, 396–405.**

Homily X provides another opportunity for testing the likelihood that Ælfric's immediate sources were homily collections rather than discrete works. According to Pope, Ælfric's "chief guide" was Haymo's homily C, which in turn made use of homily XXX in Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelia* and *Tractatus LXXVI–LXXIX* of Augustine's commentary on John.²¹ He believes, however, that Ælfric also went to these older sources directly. Having thus set out his case, he remarks:

There is, to be sure, a homily for Pentecost attributed to Smaragdus (Migne, PL CII. 328–31) in which several of the relevant passages from Augustine appear, but not quite all of them; and the same can be said of the commentary by Alcuin. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that Ælfric turned to Augustine directly.²²

This is a slightly misleading comment, not least because the Smaragdus homily (PL 102: 328–331), a pre-selected extract, liturgically "indexed" into a collection that Ælfric was known to use, is exactly the same as the Alcuin commentary on these verses of John, whereas the implication of Pope's comment is that they are two distinct pieces of comparative evidence. The second misleading implication is that, when Ælfric's Augustinian material is compared with that available in Alcuin/Smaragdus, there is not enough in the Carolingian *catena* to account for Ælfric, so that independent consultation of Augustine has to be assumed. In fact, in his source commentary at the foot of the Old English text, Pope attributes only two passages directly to Augustine: lines 151–158, and 190–203. Lines 151–158 are actually in Smaragdus (PL 102: 330A–B), taken from Alcuin, who in turn takes the words from Augustine, so they are hardly evidence for independent consultation of Augustine. Lines 190–203 are a little more complex, in that the Augustinian passage quoted in Pope's source commentary (with which Ælfric does not correspond on a phrase-by-phrase basis) has a verbal equivalent in Smaragdus (PL 102: 330D–

²¹ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 393.

²² Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 393.

331A), although the words are not arranged in the same way. At this point, in Smaragdus and in Haymo (Ælfric's other possible source as identified by Pope), the focus is on redemption and damnation. That is also the case in the verbally similar passage in Augustine, but Augustine names Adam, whereas Haymo and Smaragdus do not. None of the Latin texts alludes directly to the Harrowing of Hell. Ælfric is in a general way close to all three texts, which are in turn close to each other, but he alludes to the Harrowing, as they do not, and he names Adam, as Augustine does, and the Carolingian texts do not. Thus in the end it is simply the naming of Adam that is evidence for linking Ælfric directly to Augustine. In a context which is about redemption, damnation and — in Ælfric's homily — the Harrowing of Hell, it is not necessary to imagine — on the contrary, it is virtually impossible to imagine — that Ælfric would have turned to a discrete copy of Augustine's *Tractatus* for the naming of Adam. The textual material directly used by Ælfric, at least as so far identified, may properly be described with reference to ultimate authorities such as Gregory and Augustine, but the material was in fact in readily accessible form in his three major source homiliaries: Haymo, as directly identified by Pope; Paul the Deacon, which includes Gregory's homily XXX, existing also in intertextual relationship with Haymo's homily; and the homily of Smaragdus, which is an exact copy of the corresponding passage of Alcuin's commentary, itself drawing heavily on Augustine. There are dense intertextual relationships here, which greatly complicate source identification and which raise fundamental questions about what constitutes the source, even when we have identified the range of options; but the likelihood that Ælfric derived his material from his Carolingian homiliaries has powerful practical support and is a well-attested compositional process on his part.

3. POPE *SUPPLEMENTARY HOMILIES* XVII:

DOMINICA XII POST OCTAVAS PENTECOSTEN (MARK 7: 31-37).

INTRODUCTION, 563-66. TEXT, 567-80.

The homily has two parts: the exposition of the lection, from Mark, and an *alia narratio*, lines 203-276 in Pope's edition. For the main part of the homily Pope identifies Bede's Homily II. 6 as the principal source; it was included in Paul the Deacon's homiliary for a Sunday in mid-August (*I post Laurentii* in the old system of designating the Sundays after Pentecost),

and for the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost in subsequent developments of the homiliary.²³ Since, as I have noted, Ælfric's copy of Paul the Deacon will have had this modern designation of the Sundays of Ordinary Time, he would have had no difficulty in consulting the Bedan homily via Paul the Deacon; his own homily is likewise for the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost, expressed in the common variant of the Twelfth Sunday after the Octave. Pope notes briefly that the Bedan homily is "likewise in the collection of Smaragdus,"²⁴ but he goes on to note that:

The only readily available rival to Bede's homily was Haymo's homily CXXIV, for the same Sunday on the same text. This Ælfric certainly used, but less frequently than might have been expected from his practice in some other homilies; I have found reason to quote Haymo only parenthetically, as it were, for the passages beginning at 106, 113, and 187.²⁵

However, Pope observes that at lines 78–81 Ælfric seems to have consulted Bede's *In Marci Evangelium Expositio* for the geographical comment on Decapolis, in particular the phrase "on eastdæle", which seems to depend on Bede's "ad orientem", found in his commentary but not in his homily or in Ælfric's other significant source, the Haymo homily identified by Pope.²⁶

In fact, although Pope mentions Smaragdus only in passing, it is this homiliary that here provides the key to Ælfric's compositional practice. Despite what Pope tells us, the homily in Smaragdus's collection is not Bede's homily, but the relevant extract from his commentary on Mark (PL 102: 440–442). This is closer to Ælfric than the homily, which means that it is the better candidate for being seen as the source, and — even more tellingly — it retains the Decapolis "ad orientem" information, notwithstanding the occasional abbreviations in the Smaragdus text. As Pope notes, this detail is ultimately derived from Jerome's *Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebræorum*. Not surprisingly, it is attributed to Bede by

²³ On the redesignation of the Sundays after Pentecost in the transmission of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, see Hill, "Translating the Tradition," 54–56.

²⁴ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 565.

²⁵ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 565.

²⁶ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 565.

Smaragdus. Since Bede's commentary is a better match for Ælfric than Bede's homily, since Ælfric takes from it a detail not found in Bede's or Haymo's homilies, and since the Bedan commentary is in the homiliary of Smaragdus, with the relevant detail retained, it is difficult to see why we should accept Pope's account of Ælfric's sources and working methods. The evidence points, rather, to Ælfric's direct use of Smaragdus.

Similar arguments obtain for the *alia narratio*, dealing with Matthew 8: 23–27. For this material Ælfric turns to homilies for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany: Pope sets out a complicated scenario, involving Jerome (though for a slight detail, and perhaps indirectly), Origen (via Paul the Deacon), Haymo's homily XX, and Bede's commentary on the parallel text in Mark 4: 35–40.²⁷ He makes no reference to Smaragdus, but Smaragdus's homily on this lection (PL 102: 98–100) is one of his more elaborate concatenations, for which the manuscript attributions alternate between Bede and Jerome, with the Bedan material, as Rädle notes, being Bede's commentaries on Mark and Luke.²⁸ The access to Bede's commentary on Mark 4: 35–40 is thus already provided for Ælfric by Smaragdus, and whilst, as Pope notes, it is inherently probable that Ælfric had read Origen's sermon, there is nothing of substance in it that could not more readily be accounted for via Bede (transmitted via Smaragdus, as I would argue) and Haymo. The small detail "reðran" at line 213, which prompts Pope to speculate on Ælfric's access to Jerome, is also accounted for by reference to Smaragdus, who has precisely this detail, "feritate", in his *catena* (PL 102: 99A).

§

These examples from the *Supplementary Homilies* show Ælfric continuing to work with the homiliaries identified as the main sources for the *Catholic Homilies*. There is nothing surprising about that. But this study modifies the impressions given by Pope's analyses, and it provides more examples to answer Godden's puzzlement about why Ælfric should have given Smaragdus such a prominent position in his letter to Sigeric.²⁹

²⁷ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 565–66.

²⁸ Fidel Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel*, *Medium Ævum*: Philologische Studien 29 (Munich, 1974), 213.

²⁹ The entries in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database follow Pope's method of analysis, and so make no reference to Smaragdus for homilies VII and X discussed here; for homily

Ælfric's work is in the same tradition as those of the Carolingian biblical exegetes and compilers of lection-based homiliaries, not just because of its substance and its self-conscious orthodoxy, but also because of its method of composition. Why should we not look first to them — and particularly to the *catena* in the homiliaries, conveniently organised as they are by the liturgical year — as the immediate source for Ælfric's exegetical *compilationes*? If we do not do so, we are in danger of allowing our instinctive dismissal of "the derivative text" to inhibit our appreciation of this enduring and increasingly complex textual community.

XVII there is one reference to Smaragdus for a detail which cannot be accounted for elsewhere.

PATRIZIA LENDINARA

"frater non redimit, redimet homo ...":

A Homiletic Motif and its

Variants in Old English

AMONG THE MOTIFS WHICH OCCUR in Anglo-Saxon anonymous homilies, along with the over-used topoi of the Judgment Day, there is one which emphasizes how every man will be alone in front of the Supreme Judge. In more than one homily stress is laid on the fact that, at the Judgment Day, no man will receive aid from those — relatives or friends — who, in his lifetime, would have come to his aid in case of need. The motif is used with a certain degree of freedom, and verbatim repetitions are rare: homilists stress how neither the father nor any other relative will be of help at this point. As the father will not be allowed to help his son, the son in his turn will not be able to help his father. A remark usually follows reminding how everyone will be judged according to his own deeds.

The motif under examination occurs in several Old English homilies, some of which are interconnected, drawing on common sources or employing the same material.¹ I will start my analysis of the occurrences of the motif, which for convenience I shall call "no aid from kin", with the an-

¹ On the composite homilies, see M. R. Godden, "Old English Composite Homilies from Winchester," ASE 4 (1975): 57–65; D. G. Scragg, "Napier's Wulfstan Homily XXX: Its Sources, its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and its Style," ASE 6 (1977): 197–211; idem, *Dating and Style in Old English Composite Homilies*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 9 (Cambridge, 1999).

onymous homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201, pp. 222–30 (Hom U 55), that opens with the words “Ic bidde and eadmodlice lære men þa leofestan”:

Ne mæg þær þonne gefultmian se fæder þæm suna, ne se sunu
þæm fæder, ac sceal þonne anra gehwile æfter his agenum gewyrht-
tym beon demed.

In this homily, also known as the Macarius homily, the motif is reduced to a brief remark containing a twofold statement without any further amplification.² The subsequent remark, to the effect that every man will be judged according to his own deeds, occurs several times in Old English and draws on well-known Scriptural sources.³

Hom U 55 is a composite homily that can be divided into three sections: the opening section, the *ubi sunt* section, and the last section containing Macarius's vision of Hell. The homily shares its opening part with Vercelli IV, and both draw on a metrical homily attributed to Ephrem the Syrian,⁴ the *De paenitentia* (which circulated in the West in a Latin version);⁵ Hom U 55 is closer to the *De paenitentia* than is Vercelli IV.

² B 3. 4. 55 (Angus Cameron, “A List of Old English Texts,” in *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron [Toronto, 1973]). The homily has been recently edited by Rosa Zaffuto, “Edizione e analisi dell'omelia ‘Ic bidde and eadmodlice lære men þa leofestan’ (ms. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201),” Ph.D. diss., University of Rome III, 1999 (quotation at 182). The first editor was B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Great Britain Public Records Commission 28 (London, 1849), 466–69; 2: 394–401.

³ See, i.a., Proverbs 24:12 “reddetque homini iuxta opera sua”; Psalm 61:13 “quia tu reddes unicuique iuxta opera sua”; Ecclesiasticus 16:13 “secundum misericordiam suam sic correptio illius hominem secundum operam suam iudicat”; Matthew 16:27 “et tunc reddet unicuique secundum opus eius”; Romans 2:6 “qui reddet unicuique secundum opera eius”; 1 Corinthians 3:8 “unusquisque autem propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem”; Revelation 2:23 “Et dabo unicuique vestrum secundum opera vestra.”

⁴ The Syriac Father Ephrem of Edessa died in A.D. 373: for the *De paenitentia*, see CPG 3915; CPL 1143; Hermann J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, 3rd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1995), 447.

⁵ The *De paenitentia* might be spurious or based only loosely on genuine works of Ephrem: I wish to thank Charles D. Wright who kindly gave me access his article, now in print, “The Old English ‘Macarius’ Homily, Vercelli IV, and Ephrem Latinus’ *De paenitentia*,” in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. Thomas N. Hall with Thomas D. Hill & Charles D. Wright, *Medieval European Studies* 1 (Morgantown, WV, 2002), 210–34.

The homily in Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII, fols. 16–24 (Hom U 9 or Vercelli IV), with its several additions, is an “expanded version of something which must already have been in existence in English before Vercelli IV”:⁶ also the motif of “no aid from kin” is more fully articulated than in U 55 (and the Latin source) and includes a remark about the impossibility of receiving help, not only from relatives, but from any other man:

ƿær þonne ne mæg se fæder helpan þam suna, ne [se] sunu þam fæder, ne nan mæg oðrum. Ac anra gehwylcum men sceal beon demed æfter his agenum gewyrhtum.⁷

The *De paenitentia*, whence both U 55 and Vercelli IV drew this part,⁸ supplies several themes to the two homilies, such as the exhortation not to be too tied to worldly riches, but rather to worry about the after-life. As far as the motif of “no aid from kin” is concerned, in the *De paenitentia* one finds the following:

Non liberabit frater proprium fratrem nec iterum pater filium suum
sed unusquisque stabit in ordine suo tam in vita quam in incendio.⁹

⁶ See Scragg, *Dating and Style*, 5. The priority of Vercelli IV has been demonstrated by Wright in “The Old English ‘Macarius’ Homily.”

⁷ B 3. 4. 9; the homily is printed by D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o.s. 300 (Oxford, 1992), 90–104, at 93. Another complete version of the homily is found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41, fols. 254–280 (the lines at issue contains an interesting variant, “fæder ne dohtor ƿære meder”); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 367, pt. 2, fol. 25 contains one part of the homily.

⁸ U 55 shares the Macarius vision with Napier XXIX (B. 3. 4. 26 = Hom U 26) printed by Arthur S. Napier, *Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler* 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with bibl. suppl. by Klaus Ostheeren, Berlin, Dublin, and Zürich, 1966), 134–43. According to Louise Dudley, “An Early Homily on the ‘Body and Soul’ Theme,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 8 (1909): 225–53, both homilies, for the part of the vision, have been translated, independently, from the same Latin archetype, which does not belong either to the family of the homily in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, MS 2096, or to that of the *Sermo* LXIX of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* (a homily the author and manuscript of which is still unknown): see Theodor D. Batiouchkof, “Le débat de l’ame et du corps,” *Romania* 20 (1891): 1–55, 513–78, here 576–78; J. Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi* 1A (Turnhout, 1990), 242, 260 (nos. 1127, 1196).

⁹ K. Fischer (= Kilianus Piscator), *Libri Sancti Effrem* (Freiburg im Breisgau, n.d.) (c.

It is evident how both homilists simplify the warning of the *De paenitentia*, dropping the reference to brothers, picking up the remark about father and son, and repeating the same in reverse. For this reason I wonder whether the words of the *De paenitentia* might be considered the sole model for the motif of "no aid from kin" and its only source, the more so because similar passages occur in other Old English homilies, which I will now take into examination (I will return to the problem of sources at the end of the survey).

In Napier XXX (= Hom U 27) it is said that each man will be alone at Judgment Day:

Ðær þonne ne mæg ænig man oðres gehelpan,¹⁰ se fæder þam suna, ne se sunu þam fæder, ne seo modor þære dehter ne seo dohtor þære meder, ne nan mæg oðrum. Ac anra gehwylcum men byð demed æfter his agenum gewyrhtum.¹¹

Napier XXX is a composite homily, extant complete in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 113, fols. 73–80v, which borrows from Vercelli IV and three other homilies of the same collection, as well as from other sources.¹² The section with the motif of "no aid from kin" is one of

1491–1492), fols. C3v–4v. I wish to thank Charles D. Wright for sending me a copy of the relevant pages of this edition.

¹⁰ Scragg, *Dating and Style*, 11, remarks that in Napier XXX the verb *gehelpan* takes the genitive object, whereas in Vercelli IV and Hom U 55 *helpan* takes the dative object.

¹¹ B. 3. 4. 27: Napier, *Wulfstan*, 143–52. The homily has been republished, from Hatton 113, in the Appendix of Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, 396–403, at 401. For its contents, see Scragg, "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX"; according to Scragg (*Dating and Style*, 9), "there is some authentic Wulfstan material in the compilation, but much of the homily consists of anonymous material that survives in other homilies." For Wulfstan's canon, see Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (third rev. ed. London, 1963; repr. Exeter, 1976), 17–28; Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), and Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten 23 (Bern, 1950).

¹² See Scragg, "Wulfstan Homily XXX," 198. Cambridge, University Library MS li. 4. 6, fols. 228–238 contains a shortened version of the homily (B 3. 2. 41 = Hom S 41): this homily, for "Tuesday in Rogationtide", is still unprinted; I quote the relevant passage from a transcript of the *Dictionary of Old English* of Toronto: "Fordan þe þær he mæg nan mann oþran gehelpan ne se fæder þam sunu ne se sunu þam fæder ne nan mann þær ne mæg oþrum gehelpan." Also the homily in London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. x, fol. 120 is related to Napier XXX.

those borrowed from Vercelli IV; as he does in other instances, the homilist expands the passage, adding a parallel remark to the fact that the mother will not help the daughter as well as the reverse.

A quite elaborate version of the motif occurs in the homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 162, pp. 422–31 (Hom S 44), where it is said that neither a brother nor a father nor any other relative can help the damned at the Judgment Day.

Þær se broðor ne mæg þam oðrum helpan ne se fæder þam suna, ne þa neahmagas ne ða maðmgestreon ne þysse woruldæhta ænigne man þær gescyldan magon. Ac Drihten gyldeð anra gehwylcum menn æfter his sylfes gewyrhtum . . . Þær ne ongyt se fæder þone sunu ne se sunu þone fæder ne wyrðað, ne seo dohtor þa modor ne lufað ne seo modor þære dehter ne miltsað. Ac anra gehwilc hys sylfes yrmða wepað and heofað.¹³

Members of the family, relatives, and friends are mentioned in the homily in Cambridge, University Library, MS li. 1. 33, fols. 207r–211r (Hom M 8). This instance seems independent from the others, and seems either to rework a common motif with freedom or to draw on different sources:

Eala man, þe þis gehyrst þæt ic ðe secge, þæt on þære stowe þe fæder ne gehelpð his suna ne him to nane gode beon ne mæg, ne

¹³ B 3. 2. 44; the homily is printed by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies* (Toronto, 1982; repr. London, 1989), 47–54, here 51, lines 98–101 and 52, lines 115–18. This homily, for “Wednesday in Rogationtide”, also occurs in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 116, pp. 382–95, where it is said: “þer se broþer þam oþrum ne mæg gehelpan, ne se fæder þam suna, ne þa neahmagas ne þa maðmgestreon . . . Ðer ne on-git se fæder þone sunu; ne se sunu þone fæder ne wurðað; ne seo dehtor þa modor ne lufað; ne seo moder þa dohter ne miltsað.” The two homilies are listed as separate entries both in Cameron, *Plan for the Dictionary* (B. 3. 2. 33 and B. 3. 2. 44) and the *Dictionary of Old English Concordance* (Hom S 44 and Hom S 33). The Hatton homily was printed by Max Förster, “Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschriften,” in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, ed. F. Holthausen and H. Spies, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* 50 (Halle, 1913), 20–179, here 128–37, here 135, lines 15–18. The two homilies were linked by idem, “A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English,” *Anglia* 73 (1955): 6–36, here 11.

sunu þam fæder, ne moder þære dohter, ne nan oðer freond ne
mæg to nane helpe.¹⁴

In this instance, the motif of "no aid from kin" has been moved from the Last Judgment (wherever it takes place) to Hell,¹⁵ as happens with other eschatological motifs. In Hell there will be no distinction between rich and poor, powerful and humble; the theme of the *ubi sunt* occurs in the preceding passage and is related to that of the impossibility of helping relatives and friends.

The *ubi sunt* motif¹⁶ — which is well known in Old English literature — has several variants: a personage might be asked about the destiny of famous men of the past (emperors, kings, and princes), but otherwise the question is about where the joys and splendours of the past have gone. The topos was largely used from the beginning of the fourth century onwards,¹⁷ though its origin is more remote and was known in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁸ A contributing factor in its diffusion was provided by the *Synonyma sive lamentatio animae peccatricis* of Isidore of Seville, where the *ubi sunt* occurs along with penitential motifs.¹⁹

The combination of the motif of "no aid from kin" with the *ubi sunt*, in my opinion, was meant to stress the contrast between things and people

¹⁴ B 3. 5. 8; the homily is printed by Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, *Nuove Omelie della Rinascenza Benedettina* (Florence, 1977), 144–57, here 149.

¹⁵ As far as the *De paenitentia* is concerned, Ephrem stressed the opposition between this world and the next.

¹⁶ On the diffusion of the *ubi sunt*, see Mariantonia Liborio, "Contributi alla storia dell'Ubi sunt," *Cultura Neolatina* 20 (1960): 143–207.

¹⁷ E.g., by Ephrem in the *De paenitentia* (just before the "no aid from kin" passage) as well as in other works of his.

¹⁸ See J. E. Cross, "'Ubi sunt' Passages in Old English — Sources and Relationships," *Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund Årsbok* (1956): 25–44. The topos occurs both in Old English poetry (*Seafarer*, *Wanderer*, translation of the *De consolatione Philosophiae* and of Psalm 78 — in the last two instances in dependence upon the Latin text) and prose (Hom M 8; Hom S 6; Hom S 17 = Blickling V; Hom S 26 = Blickling VII; Hom S 40. 1 = Napier XLIX; Hom S 40. 3 = Vercelli X; Hom U 3; Hom U 9 = Vercelli IV; Hom U 20 = Blickling X; Hom U 27 = Napier XXX; Hom U 55).

¹⁹ PL 83: 825–868, at 865. On this work, see Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville auteur 'ascétique': les énigmes des *Synonyma*," *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 6 (1965): 163–95. The *Synonyma* also contain remarks about the sinners' condition of loneliness on earth: "Nullus mihi protectionem præbet, nullus defensionem adhibet, nullus adminiculum tribuit, nullus malis meis succurrit, desertus sum ab omnibus hominibus" (PL 83: 829).

that are relevant in one's lifetime and the condition of loneliness experienced at the Judgment Day, when the position that a man (or a woman) might hold within family or society will not be relevant at all. This juxtaposition was made explicit in Hom S 44 (and S 33) where both earthly riches (*maðmgestreon* and *woruldæht*) and relatives are mentioned in the same sentence.

Hom M 8 has its source — discovered and marked by a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand in the margin of the manuscript — in a pseudo-Augustine homily, that is, no. LXVIII of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* where it is said:

de qua non liberabit pater filium, nec pro patre filius fidejubebit;
ubi non reperitur amicus qui redimat, nec frater qui succurrat.²⁰

A similar motif is found in the pseudo-Isidorean *Sermo III*:

Ibi non adjuvat pater ad filium, nec filius ad patrem; ibi non invenitur amicus qui redimat amicum, neque frater qui succurrat fratri.²¹

In both Latin homilies, as well as in Hom M 8, the motif has been moved to Hell.

Also Wulfstan employs a similar motif in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*:

Ne bearh nu foroft gesib gesibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his suna, ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðer oðrum; ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode swa swa he sceolde, ne gehadode regollice, ne læwede lahllice; ne ænig wið oðerne getreowlice ne þohte swa rihte swa he sceolde.²²

²⁰ PL 40: 1354–1355, here 1355; Machielsen, CPPMA, 1A: 260, no. 1195. The author of *Sermo LXVIII* is still unknown: see Jean-Paul Bonnes, "Un des plus grands prédicateurs du XIIe siècle: Geoffroy du Laroux, dit Geoffroy Babion," *Revue Bénédictine* 56 (1946): 174–215, here 178.

²¹ PL 83: 1223–1225, here 1224; see also CPL 1225 and Machielsen, CPPMA, 1B: 804–5, no. 5306. The homily occurs in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 17059, fols. 44–46 (ninth century). The first part of the homily agrees with *Sermo LXVIII*.

²² B 2. 4. 2: Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 255–60, here 257.

Wulfstan's words are a further proof of the circulation of the motif of "no aid from kin" in Old English. Source studies of composite homilies are complicated by the overlapping of material from previous vernacular homilies that hinders the singling out of Latin sources: according to Wright the author of Vercelli IV was drawing on an earlier version of the Macarius homily whose text was slightly fuller than the actual text of U 55; in its turn Hom M 8 draws either on a Latin sermon attributed to Augustine or on a pseudo-Isidorean homily. The other passages may either go back to yet other Latin (themselves from Greek or Syriac) texts, or may rework a widespread motif, known only from vernacular sources.

PARALLELS

The motif under examination has a parallel²³ in the much disputed lines of the *Seafarer* (lines 97–102) where is said that no man, however nearly related, can help the sinful one at the Judgment to come. Gold and treasures, that is earthly wealth, lavished on a man's grave are of no avail:

Peah þe græf wille golde stregan
 broþor his geborenum, byrgan be deaðum,
 maþmum mislicum þæt hine mid wille,
 ne mæg þære sawle þe biþ synna ful
 gold to geoce for godes egsan,
 þonne he hit ær hydeð þenden he her leofað.²⁴

The passage repeats the previous comments on the transitory nature of earthly glory that cannot save a man from God's Judgment.²⁵ Eschato-

²³ See G. V. Smithers, "The Meaning of the *Seafarer* and the *Wanderer*," *Medium Ævum* 26 (1957): 137–53, and 28 (1959): 1–22.

²⁴ George P. Krapp and Elliott van K. Dobbie, ed., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York and London, 1936), 146.

²⁵ On these lines, see Marjorie Daunt, "The *Seafarer* ll. 97–102," *Modern Language Review* 11 (1916): 337–38; Kenneth Sisam, "Seafarer, Lines 97–102," *Review of English Studies* 21 (1945): 316–17; R. Hamer, "The *Seafarer*, Line 99b," *Notes & Queries* n.s. 39 (1992): 13–15; Michael D. Cherniss, "The Meaning of *The Seafarer*, Lines 97–102," *Modern Philology* 66 (1968): 146–49; Krapp and Dobbie (as well as Cherniss and Hamer) do not emend line 99b.

logical themes are exploited in the *Seafarer* and in the *Wanderer*, where both the motif under examination and the *ubi sunt* topos are poetically stated. The latter occurs in disguised form (lines 82 ff.) in the *Seafarer*, whereas it is made explicit in the *Wanderer*. The motif of "no aid from kin" occurs only in the *Seafarer*, in a rather simplified form, referring to what happens on earth, just after one's death — where and when relatives try to help the dead somehow — and not at Judgment Day or in Hell.

The motif that everyone will be alone on the Day of Judgment and will receive no help whatsoever is also found in Old High German poetry, in the eschatological poem *Muspilli* where, at line 57, occurs the following statement:

dar ni mac denne mak andremo helfan vora demo muspille²⁶

[Then no relative can help the other before the Muspilli]²⁷

Otfrid too, in the fifth book of his *Evangelienbuch*, provides several examples of how anyone can help the other at Judgment Day (5.19.23), the "abulges dag" ("the day of wrath"), as he calls it:²⁸

Ni mag thar manahoubit helfan hereren uuiht
kind noh quena

(5.19.47–48)

[Then the serf cannot help in any way either the master, or the son or the wife.]

²⁶ Wilhelm Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, 16th ed. rev. by Ernst A. Ebbinghaus (Tübingen, 1979). The influence of Ephrem was surmised by Gustav Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichtes*, Studien zur Englischen Philologie 31 (Halle, 1908), 239–42. See also Cola Minis, *Handschrift, Form und Sprache des Muspilli*, Philologische Studien und Quellen 35 (Berlin, 1966), 79.

²⁷ The *Muspilli* contains several Ephremic motifs; see Margot Schmidt, "Influence de saint Éphrem sur la littérature latine et allemande du début du moyen-âge," *Parole de l'orient* 4 (1973): 325–41.

²⁸ Johann Kelle, *Otfrids von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch. Text, Einleitung, Grammatik, Metrik, Glossar* (Regensburg, 1856–1881; repr. Aalen, 1963), 2: 362.

This proves that the motif, which was fully developed by Old English homilists, was also known in other Germanic literatures.²⁹

SOURCES

According to Sebastian Brock: "very little . . . of the extant Ephrem Graecus and Ephrem Latinus is genuine Ephrem, and in most cases probably did not even start out in Syriac."³⁰ Several works attributed to Ephrem circulated in the West in Latin translations.³¹ The *De paenitentia* (also titled *De patientia*),³² that belongs to a small corpus of six metrical homilies found in several manuscripts,³³ was available in England³⁴ and was

²⁹ A similar motif is found in "Audax es vir iuuenis", an abecedarian poem, datable to c. 800 or earlier, contained in several manuscripts. An insular origin (Ireland or England) for this rhythm has been put forward: see Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge, *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 14 (Dublin, 1998), 92–98, 279–83. The poem also found a place in the so-called "Cambridge Songs", no. 18, strophe 20, "Venit dies iudicii/ et erit magna districtio,/ ut non adiuuet pater filium/ nec filius defendat patrem": Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)* (New York and London, 1994; repr. Tempe, 1998 [MRTS vol. 192]), 76–83, 225–27 (where the relevant lines are misinterpreted).

³⁰ Sebastian P. Brock, "The Syriac Background," in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 11 (Cambridge, 1995), 30–53, here 40.

³¹ See Sebastian P. Brock, "A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations of the Works of St. Ephrem," *The Harp: Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies* 3 (1990): 7–29.

³² No Syriac original of the sermon has survived; it survives in Greek and in several translations. See Pattie, "Ephraem's 'On Repentance'." The ancient Latin translation was printed for the first time by Fischer, *Libri Sancti Effrem*. For the Greek text, see J.S. Assemani, *Sancti Ephraem Syri opera omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1732–46), 1: 148a–153b, at 151a (Greek text) and 151b (Latin translation). The motif of "no aid from kin" occurs also in other works by Ephrem.

³³ The oldest one is Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barberini lat. 671, which dates from the second half of the eighth century: See T. S. Pattie, "Ephrem the Syrian and the Latin Manuscripts of 'De Paenitentia'," *British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 1–24.

³⁴ On the circulation of his works, see Patrick Sims-Williams, "Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 205–26; repr. with original pagination and addenda in idem *Britain and Early Christian Europe: Studies in Early Medieval History and Culture* (Aldershot, 1995), and Thomas H. Bestul, "Ephraim the Syrian and Old English Poetry," *Anglia* 99 (1981): 1–24. See also David Ganz, "Knowledge of Ephraim's Writings in the Merovingian and Carolingian Age," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 2, 1 (1999) (Special Issue: *The Influence of Saint Ephraim the Syrian—II*).

the source of at least two homilies (Hom U 55 and Vercelli IV), which drew the motif of "no aid from kin" from Ephrem.

On the other hand it must be remarked that the elements of the motif under examination were quite widespread: for example, in the homily *De exitu animi, et de secundo adventu* (CPG 5258), attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (and in part by Theophilus of Alexandria, his predecessor) it is said that a man will be damned or saved according to the deeds he has performed in his lifetime and that he will not receive any help whatsoever:

Τότε οὐδεὶς ὁ παριστάμενος, καὶ ἐξαρπάζων τῆς τιμωρίας, οὐ πατήρ, οὐ μήτηρ, οὐχ υἱὸς, οὐχὶ θυγάτηρ, οὐκ ἄλλος τις τῶν συγγενῶν, οὐ γείτων, οὐ φίλος, οὐ συνήγορος, οὐ χρημάτων δόσις, οὐ πλούτου περιουσία, οὐ δυναστείας ὄγκος· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ὥσπερ κόνις εἰς σποδὸν ἐλήλათαι, καὶ μόνος κρινόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων, τὴν ἐλευθεροῦσαν, ἢ τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ὑπομένει ψῆφον.³⁵

[Then there will not be anyone at hand snatching you away from the punishment, neither father nor mother, nor son, nor daughter, nor any relative, neighbour, friend or defender, neither bestowal of money nor plenty of riches, nor magnificence of power; rather all these things will vanish like ashes in the dust and the defendant waits alone for the judgment that will either discharge him of his deeds or condemn him.]³⁶

Although this sermon, as well as the sources mentioned above, might have been known in England, it is also likely that both the homilies (with the exception of U 55, Vercelli IV and S 44) and the *Seafarer* were simply elaborating on the words of the Psalter, where, in the Roman version of Psalm 48: 8–9, it is said: "frater non redimit, redimet homo; non dabit Deo placationem suam et pretium redemptionis animae suae. Et laborabit

³⁵ PG 77: 1072–1089, here 1072. This attribution has been questioned by Athanas Recheis, *Engel Tod und Seelenreise*, *Temi e testi* 4 (Rome, 1958), 175. The Greek homily also contains the *ubi sunt* theme (1077) and other eschatological motifs.

³⁶ This homily was very influential in the Eastern churches: see Batiouchkof, "Le débat," 12, 40. There was even an Arabic version (see CPG 5258).

in aeternum."³⁷ In the West-Saxon prose version of the Psalter these verses receive extensive comment:

7. þæt nan broðor opres sawle nele alysan of helle, ne ne mæg, þeah he wylle, gif he sylf nanwuht nyle, ne ne deð to goode þa hwile þe he her byð. Gylde for þy him sylf and alyse his sawle þa hwile ðe he her sy; for þam se broðor opþe nyle oððe ne mæg, gif he sylf na ne onginð to tilianne þæt he þæt weorð agife to alysnesse his sawle.³⁸

The words of the prose version of the Psalter match both the *Seafarer* and the Old English homilies and witness an early use and diffusion of the motif.

The insistence of the Anglo-Saxon homilists on the fact that every man will be alone at the Judgment Day produced a striking image, the more so for a Germanic audience, where the role of the *Sippe* was so strong. According to the Germanic custom it was possible to atone even for homicide by payment of the price set upon each man according to his rank.³⁹ In this connection the importance of the relatives was prominent: see, for example, the Laws of Alfred:

30. Gif fædrenmæga mægleas mon gefeohte 7 mon ofslea, 7 þonne gif medrenmægas hæbbe, gielden þa ðæs weres ðriddan dæl, [ðriddan dæl þa gegyldan, for ðriddan dæl] he fleo.

§ 1. Gif he medrenmægas nage, gielden þa gegildan healfne, for healfne he feo.

³⁷ According to Sisam, "*Seafarer*, Lines 97–102," 316–17, the *Seafarer* line 99 echoes Psalm 48; Smithers, "The Meaning of the *Seafarer*," 11, also points out a parallel with Zephaniah 1: 18: "sed et argentum eorum et aurum eorum non poterit liberare eos in die irae Domini."

³⁸ James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay, *Liber Psalmorum. The West-Saxon Psalms, being the Prose Portion or the 'first fifty' of the so-called Paris Psalter* (Boston and London, 1907), 115.

³⁹ See Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 21: "Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est; nec implacabiles durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum"; for the Germanic *Wergeld*, see also *Germania*, chap. 12. 2.

31. Gif mon swa geradne mon ofslea, gif he mægas nage, gielde mon healfne [were þam] cyninge, healfne þam gegildan.⁴⁰

Man's condition in his lifetime and after his death is entirely different, and hence the need to remind the audience about such difference.

I would also like to suggest two further levels of interpretation in reference to the audience of the Old English homilies, where the motif was extensively used, and which may have determined its expansions. Homilies were intended for both sexes, and, owing to this fact, it is said that man and woman are alike in front of the Judgment Day. Homilies were also intended both for seculars and for clerics, and, for this reason, the insistence on what will take place at the Last Judgment is meant to convey another message of equality and hope, stressing the fact that there will not be any difference between the layman and the ecclesiastic. The monk in the monastery, where he may have been left when still a child, has no relatives — and no property —, but will not be more lonely in front of the Supreme Judge.

In my opinion, and the more so for the evident connection with the *ubi sunt* topos, the motif of "no aid from kin" also builds on the parallel between members of the society and members of the family (and, in the foreground, on the much older and widespread parallel between these and the limbs of the body).⁴¹ In this respect, it finds a remarkable parallel in subject glossaries such as Ælfric's, where the section "Nomina membrorum" begins with the names of the limbs ("Membrum *an* lim, membra *ma* lima . . ."), followed by the names of the members of society, ecclesiastical and lay ("Patriarcha *heahfæder*, propheta *witega* . . ."), and ends with the names of the members of the family ("Pater *fæder*, mater *modor* . . .").⁴²

As well as in so many other instances Anglo-Saxons were able to assimilate a literary topos, notwithstanding how remote its origin was, and to reshape it, imparting new strength and additional meaning to the motif

⁴⁰ F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922), 76.

⁴¹ For the parallel between man and the world, see J. E. Cross, "Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature," in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. Stanley B. Greenfield (New York, 1963), 1–22.

⁴² Julius Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar. Text und Varianten*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben 1 (Berlin, 1880; 2nd ed. with introd. by Helmut Gneuss, Berlin, Zürich, and Dublin, 1966), 297–322, here 297, 299.

of "no aid from kin." The image of the man who, at Judgment Day, does not receive help from either relatives or friends, might be drawn from the metrical homilies of Ephrem the Syrian, which circulated in the West in Latin translations. The motif also occurs in Old High German literature, but it was in the Old English homilies that it found the largest use and the most effective exploitation.

GALE R. OWEN-CROCKER

Horror in *Beowulf*: Mutilation, Decapitation, and Unburied Dead

VIOLENCE IS CELEBRATED IN *Beowulf*'s heroic world, which is populated by warrior-Danes "Gār-Dena" (line 1) and battle-Geats "Gūð-Gēata" (line 1538).¹ Focus falls upon the glory of the victor, and little or no sympathy is expended on the victims: Scyld Scefing, we are told, deprived troops of enemies, from many nations, of their mead benches ("sceaþena þrēatum, / monegum mægþum meodosetla oftēah", lines 4-5), acts which would, presumably, have involved killing some of those enemies before the survivors submitted; but their fate is not mentioned. Nor are the specific achievements of Scyld's descendants documented by the *Beowulf*-poet, though we are told that Healfdene was fierce in battle ("gūðrēow", line 58) and Hrothgar was given success in war ("herespēd gyfen", line 64). In fact, considering this is a poem introduced to us as dealing with glory and deeds of valour ("þrym . . . ellen", lines 2-3) we are treated to remarkably few armed encounters at first hand. Only episodes in the Swedish Wars merit prolonged description: Weohstan's dispatch of Eanmund, his pillaging of the body and subsequent reward (lines 2612-2619); and, more detailed, Ongentheow's sword-fight with Eofor and Wulf, again with an account of the pillaging of his armour and sword and the killers' rewards

¹ All references are taken from F. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950). All translations are my own.

(lines 2961–2998). In the recent past which forms a sketchy backdrop to Beowulf's adventures, other named characters have killed or been killed: Heatholaf died at the hand of Ecgtheow (lines 460–461), Unferth murdered his brothers with a sword (lines 587–588, 1167–1169), Beowulf himself crushed Dæghrefn (lines 2501–2502) and Hæthcyn was killed as an act of revenge by Ongentheow (lines 2924–2930); but always the circumstances of the fight are vague, and in none of these cases do we follow the fate of the victim's body. Hæthcyn's accidental killing of his older brother with an arrow is more specific (lines 2435–2443), but we learn nothing about the dead Herebeald. Instead the narrator speaks of the anguish and frustration of the bereaved father, King Hrethel, at the death of a son which cannot be either compensated with money or avenged:

Pæt wæs feohlēas gefeoht, fyrenum gesyngad,
 hreðre hygemēde; sceolde hwæðre swā þeah
 æðeling unwrecen ealdres linnan . . .

 Swā Wedra helm
 æfter Herebealde heortan sorge
 weallinde wæg; wihte ne meahte
 on ðām feorhbonan fæghðe gebētan;
 nō ðy̅ ær hē þone heaðorinc hatian ne meahte
 lādum dædum þeah him lēof ne wæs.
 (lines 2441–2443, 2463–2467)

[It was a fight without compensation, exceedingly painful, very wearisome to the heart; nevertheless, the prince had to leave life unavenged. . . . Thus [like the bereaved father in the digression, lines 2444–2462] the Guardian of the Geats carried surging sorrow in his heart for Herebeald. He could not in any way avenge the feud on the slayer; none the sooner could he persecute the battle warrior with hostile acts, although he was not dear to him.]

There is, therefore, in *Beowulf* a backcloth in which killing is frequently mentioned but is not dwelt upon, being interwoven with the ethical and pragmatic issues of the heroic world, matters such as tribute, revenge, booty, and reward. Against this, two opposite extremes, the elaborate funeral ritual and the denial of the right to burial or cremation, stand out

starkly. The ritual obsequies of *Beowulf*, as I have argued elsewhere, provide emotional climaxes and structural pillars around which the poem is built:² Scyld's ship funeral inaugurates the action and Beowulf's cremation and mound burial conclude it. In the body of the poem, the cremation at Finnsburg and the burial of the Last Survivor's treasure in a barrow (presumably with his dead lord) are of major thematic and structural significance. Though the Christian audience of the poem might have regarded the funerals as exotic in their pagan trappings (ship, cremation fires, grave-goods, barrows), they are ceremonial rather than spiritual occasions: there is no pagan theology in them. The narration of them is so filtered through Christian perception ("Scyld gewāt . . . fēran on Frēan wære" [Scyld went to go into the keeping of the Lord], lines 26–27; [arguably] "Gūðrinc āstāh" [the warrior ascended], line 1118; "Heald þū nū hrūse" [hold now, earth], line 2247; "heofon rēce swe(a)lg" [heaven swallowed the smoke], line 3155) that they can be seen, not as wrong or offensive, but in their context "proper". All are highly emotive, but they are also cathartic; the funeral ceremonies burn, bury, or transport the corpse, honour the dead, and give an opportunity for the exhibition of public grief, after which the mourners (Hengest and Hildeburh excepted)³ are free to go about their business — of supporting another king, preparing to fight invaders, or wandering away to die.

In counterpoint to this ritualized disposal of the body runs the recurrent motif of death so unnatural that what is normally owed to the dead in terms of funeral rites is inaccessible. When Beowulf has returned to his own country and is describing to Hygelac the events that have taken place in Denmark, as he relates the death of Æschere he focuses on the fact that the Danes were not able to give their loved one a proper funeral (a cremation), because Grendel's mother had carried off his body:

Nōðer hȳ hine ne mōston, syððan mergen cwōm,
 dēaðwērigne Denia lēode
 bronde forbærnan, nē on bēl hladan,

² See Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *The Four Funerals in Beowulf: And the Structure of the Poem* (Manchester, 2000).

³ Hengest ostensibly supports another king (Finn) but eventually has revenge on him, a further grief, presumably, for Hildeburh.

lēofne mannan; hīo þæt līc ætbær
fēondes fæð(mum un)der firgenstrēam.

(lines 2124-2128)

[The people of the Danes were not able to burn him, dead, with fire, after morning came, they were not able to lay the beloved man on the pyre. She carried away the body, in the arms of his enemy, under the mountain stream.]

This is a different perspective from previous references to Æschere's murder. When Hrothgar revealed to Beowulf that Grendel's mother had killed Æschere, his lament focused on the loss of a companion and councillor, a good and generous nobleman (lines 1323-1344), and when the company set out in pursuit of Grendel's mother, it was the distress of the Danes as they came across Æschere's severed head on which the poet concentrated:

Denum eallum wæs,
winum Scyldinga weorce on mōde
tō geþolianne, ðegne monegum,
oncȳð eorla gehwæm, syðþan Æscheres
on þām holmclife hafelan mēttan.

(lines 1417b-1421)

[For all the Danes, for the retainers of the Scyldings, for many athane, it was grievous to suffer in the heart, a distress for each of the noblemen, after they came across Æschere's head on the cliff by the water.]

It is significant that in talking to his uncle, Beowulf should concentrate instead on the lack of funeral rites for Æschere, because the same fate awaits Hygelac's body. He is to die far from home, in the Frisian raid, and although the event is in the future as Beowulf talks to Hygelac at his homecoming, the audience of the poem already know of it because it has been anticipated, when Wealtheow gave Beowulf a neck-ring as thanks for killing Grendel:

Þone hring hæfde Higelāc Gēata,
nefa Swertinges nȳhstan sīðe,

siðþan hē under segne sinc ealgode,
 wælreāf werede; hyne wyrd fornam,
 syððan hē for wlenco wēan āhsode,
 fæhðe tō Frýsum. Hē þā frætwe wæg,
 eorclanstānas ofer yða ful,
 rīce þēoden; hē under rand gecranc.
 Gehwearf þā in Francna fæþm feorh cyninges,
 brēostgewædu, ond se bēah somod;
 wýrsan wīgfreca wæl rēafedon
 æfter gūðsceare, Gēata lēode
 hrēawīc hēoldon.

(lines 1202–1214a)

[Hygelac of the Geats, nephew of Swerting, had the ring on his last expedition, after he defended treasure under the standard, protected spoils of war; fate carried him off, after he looked for trouble, battle with the Frisians, out of recklessness. He had treasures then, the chief of the kingdom, precious stones across the sea. He perished under the round shield. The king's life, mailcoat and the ring together passed then into the embrace of the Frisians. Inferior warriors plundered the slain after the carnage. The Geatish people occupied the place of slaughter.]

According to the Latin *Liber Monstrorum*, bones which were believed to be those of Hygelac were exhibited on an island at the mouth of the Rhine.⁴ The author of the poem probably knew the tradition that Hygelac's bones did not rest in peace, especially since, as I have suggested elsewhere, the lack of funeral for Æschere and the lack of a funeral in his own country for Hygelac may be linked structurally in a complex series of parallels framed by the two central funerals (that of Hnæf and the Last Survivor's lord).⁵

Also deprived of a proper funeral is the hanged son in the elegiac digression now known as "The Father's Lament" which is inserted into the

⁴ Quoted in R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf: An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn*, with supplement by C. L. Wrenn (Cambridge, 1921; 3rd ed. 1959), 4.

⁵ Owen-Crocker, *Four Funerals*, 159–161.

ostensibly historical narrative of Hrethel's bereavement.⁶ This is not a factual account but an analogy:

Swā bið geōmorlīc gomelum ceorle
 tō gebīðanne, þæt his byre rīde
 giong on galgan [.]
] hangað
 hrefne tō hrōðre

(lines 2444-2448a)

[Likewise it is painful for an old man to endure that his son, young, rides on the gallows . . . hangs as a joy to the raven.]

The reason for the hanging is never given; we are not to know if the son is a criminal or the sacrificial victim of some remote and abhorrent paganism, as the method of execution and the mention of the raven may imply (the god Woden hung on a tree and had a raven as a familiar). Nor do we know how the loss of one young man should relate to the disappearance of his *comitatus* and the emptying of his stronghold of riders and music. The retainers at least are buried, "rīdend swefað / hæleð in hoðman" [riders sleep, heroes in the grave (lines 2457-2458)] and we can only suppose that they have died in battle and their leader's body has been exposed by a vengeful enemy, perhaps as a sacrifice to his god. The function of the passage is to convey the emotion of Hrethel who, like the father in the digression, suffers not only grief but also frustration: he is denied the right to do what is proper on the death of a son. Unable to take revenge on the slayer, who is also his son, Hrethel has no relief for his surging grief.

In other cases, too, the non-burial is imagined, not actual. Characters anticipate what might happen to themselves, or what will be done to others, fates so horrible that both the listening protagonists and the poem's audience are made to experience feelings of revulsion and terror. Beowulf

⁶ The protagonists are two uncles and the grandfather of the (fictional) hero Beowulf. A third uncle, Hygelac, has some claim to historicity, but the episode of one brother killing another is similar to an event in Norse mythology involving characters with similar names. The *Beowulf*-poet may have exploited a known story (with a slightly different outcome). See Roberta Frank, "Skaldic Verse and the Date of *Beowulf*," in *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. Colin Chase (Toronto, 1981), 123-39, here 132.

speaks of the possibility of death with grim realism when he greets Hrothgar and makes his boast that he will fight Grendel:

Nā þū mīnne þearft
hafalan hȳdan, ac hē mē habban wile
d[r]ēore fāhne, gif mec dēað nimeð;
byreð blōdig wæl, byrgean þenceð,
eteð āngenga unmunlice,
mearcað mōrhopu; nō ðū ymb mīnes ne þearft
līces feorme leng sorgian.

(lines 445b–451)

[You will not need to hide my head, but he will have me stained with blood, if death takes me; he will carry off the bloody corpse, he will intend to taste [it], the solitary one will eat [it] without pity, it will stain his retreat on the moors. You will not need to grieve longer about taking care of my body.]

This statement comes in the context of an elaborate conceit of courtesy which we might paraphrase as "I ask you this favour, since I have come so far, that you let me cleanse your hall for you. If I should fail you won't have the inconvenience of a funeral, but could I please trouble you to return my mailcoat, which is a family heirloom, to my king." Within this setting of civilized conversation, the matter-of-fact acceptance by the noble speaker of a bloody death and consumption by the monster provokes a frisson of terror. This is what Grendel has done before, and will do again, though not to Beowulf. The enjoyment of cannibalism, which makes Grendel uniquely horrific among the monsters of the poem, is clearly evoked here, and from the point of view of the victim, rather than the perpetrator or an impersonal narrator. Beowulf's wrestling match with Grendel will in fact be very one-sided, but this anticipation of defeat ensures that the poem's audience fully appreciates the hero's clear-headed assessment of risk and his courage in proceeding.

This projection of a gory end for Beowulf also highlights motifs which will, ironically, relate to the killing of Grendel rather than his enemy. The hero's blood will not be shed, at least not in this adventure; but blood, which has (arguably) stained the floor of Heorot in the past,⁷ will cer-

⁷ At line 725 Grendel will step onto the *fāgne flōr* of Heorot. *Fag* can mean "deco-

tainly stain the ground as Grendel flees injured, it will well up from the mere at Beowulf's victory, and it will melt the blade of the ancient sword the hero uses to kill Grendel's mother and decapitate Grendel's corpse. "To hide the head" was probably a recognised poetic formula for "burial", but also the reference is one manifestation of the "head" motif which recurs throughout Beowulf's adventure in Denmark: Beowulf will strike (ineffectually, as it turns out) at the head of Grendel's mother "hire on hafelan hringmæl āgōl / grædig gūðlēoð" [the decorated sword sang a greedy battle-song on her head (lines 1521-1522)] and eventually decapitate her. (The narrator speaks poetically of the severing of vertebrae, lines 1566-1567, but Beowulf is crisply explicit when he tells the adventure to Hygelac, "ic hēafde becearf . . . Grendles mōdor" [I decapitated . . . Grendel's mother (lines 2138-2139)].) He will cut off Grendel's head "hine þā hēafde becearf", [cut off his head (line 1590)] and take it as a trophy "þone hafelan ond þā hilt somod" [the head and the hilt together (line 1614)]. It will be carried back to Heorot "cýningbalde men . . . hafelan bāeron" [royally brave men carried the head (lines 1634-1635)], "fēower scoldon / on þām wælstenge weorcum gefērian . . . Grendles hēafod" [four had to carry Grendel's head, with difficulty, on the spear-shaft (lines 1637-1639)]⁸ to ignominious exposure and horror among the witnesses: "Þā wæs be feaxe on flet boren / Grendles hēafod, þær guman druncon, / egeslīc for eorlum ond þære idese mid" [Then Grendel's head was carried by the hair on to the floor [of the hall] where men drank, terrible in front of noblemen, and the lady with them (lines 1647-1649)]. The severed head will be the focus of Hrothgar's appreciation: "Þæs sig Metode þanc . . . þæt ic on þone hafelan heorodrēorigne . . . ēagum starige!" [Thanks be to the Lord for this . . . that I gaze with my eyes on the gory head (lines 1778-1781)].

rated", the usual interpretation in the present context; but it can also mean "stained".

⁸ I interpret *wælstenge*, "slaughter-shaft", as a kenning for "spear", as do most commentators; I imagine Grendel's head fixed in some way (skewered, perhaps) to the spear-shaft, which would be carried horizontally, supported by two men at each end. Rolf Bremmer has a different interpretation. Reading *wælstenge* literally as "carnage-pole", he declares: "All the way from the mere to the hall, the monster's head is elevated on some sort of stake or pole in such a way that everyone will be able to see it": Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "Grendel's Arm and the Law," in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt wisely'. Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London and New York, 1996), 121-32, here 124; see also note 16.

Wiglaf also faces the possibility that his body will be destroyed by a monster, but prefers this to cowardice: "God wāt on mec, þæt mē is micle lēofre, þæt mīnne lichaman / mid mīnne goldgyfan glēd fæðmiē" [God knows, concerning me, that it is dearer to me that flame should embrace my body with my treasure giver (lines 2650–2652)]. Again, the event will not happen, but the audience is given the opportunity to taste the horror of what *might* occur. Wiglaf will indeed be burnt by the dragon's flame, but the injury will not be fatal. Once more, it is the fate of another that is anticipated; it is Beowulf, not Wiglaf, who will be killed by the dragon, and whose body will be destroyed by fire, on his funeral pyre: "swō gende lēg / wōpe bewunden . . . oð þæt hē ðā bānhūs gebrocen hæfde / hāt on hreðre . . . Heofon rēce swe(a)lg" [the roaring flame mingled with weeping . . . until it had broken the bone-house, hot at the core . . . Heaven swallowed the smoke (lines 3145–3148, 3155)].

Another projected case of non-burial is the revenge anticipated by Ongentheow, King of Sweden, after he has killed Hæthcyn of Geatland near Ravenswood and expects further Geat victims: he and his army will cut open the enemies with swords and hang some of them for sport on gallows-trees:

cwæð, hē on mergenne mēces ecgum
gētan wolde, sum[e] on galgtrōēwu[m]
[fuglum] tō gamene.

(lines 2939–2941)

[He said in the morning he would cut [them] open with sword edges, [hang] certain ones on gallows-trees as sport for the birds.]

It is not clear whether the Geats will die by hanging or whether Ongentheow intends to expose the bodies of those already dead by hanging them on trees. The editorial emendation *fuglum*, which makes the "sport" enjoyable for birds as well as vengeful humans, is plausible in view of the alliteration (*Frōfor* in line 2941b) and the proximity in the narrative of a wood named after carrion-eating birds. The similarity to Adam of Bremen's reference to sacrificial victims hanging from trees⁹ together with the

⁹ "Corpora autem suspenduntur in lucum, qui proximus est templo" [Indeed the bodies are hung in the sacred grove which is next to the temple]: G. Waitz, ed., *Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum ex recensione Lappenbergii*, Monumenta Ger-

gallows and raven motifs inevitably suggests to a modern audience a reminiscence of paganism, specifically (again) of sacrifice to Woden. The Christian poet may well have had distasteful heathenism in mind when this passage was structured into the poem.¹⁰

However, the tearing of exposed corpses by carrion-eating birds was evidently a commonplace in the late Anglo-Saxon period: in rendering the story of Noah's flood, both the poet of the Old English *Genesis A*¹¹ and the illustrator of the Old English *Hexateuch*¹² adopted the patristic tradition that the reason the raven did not return to the ark was that it was feeding on corpses;¹³ in an anonymous account of *The Seven Sleepers*, the bodies of martyrs persecuted by Decius are hung on the town walls, and their heads, "like those of others who were thieves, outside the town-walls upon head-stakes." Birds, specifically ravens and rooks ("hrócas. and hremmas. and feala cynna fugelas") tear out their eyes and pull out their flesh.¹⁴ In the Old English poem *The Fortunes of Men* the fate of the man

maniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, in usum scholarum 2 (Hanover, 1876), 175. See Gale R. Owen, *Rites and Religions of the Anglo-Saxons* (Newton Abbot and Totowa, NJ, 1981), 15–20.

¹⁰ The controversial passage in which the Danes resort to paying homage to idols and devil worship (lines 175–188) is in structural relationship to the reference to Geats on gallows-trees, one of a clear series of parallels framed by Scyld's funeral and Beowulf's: Owen-Crocker, *Four Funerals*, 179–80.

¹¹ "Eft him seo wen geleah, / ac se feonde gespearn fleotende hreaw; / salwigfedera secan nolde" [Subsequently the supposition [that the raven would seek out land] deceived him, for the enemy [the raven] perched on a floating corpse; the dark-feathered creature was not willing to search] (lines 1446–1448): George Philip Krapp, ed., *The Junius Manuscript*, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* 1 (New York and London, 1931), 45.

¹² C. R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 18 (Copenhagen, 1974), fol. 15r.

¹³ The tradition can be found in Ambrose, Augustine, Isidore, and, significantly, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, Bede. See Silvia Huntley Horowitz, "The Ravens in *Beowulf*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 80 (1981): 502–11, here 504–5.

¹⁴ *Lives of Saints*, 23, lines 74–78 in Walter W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900; repr. as 2 vols, 1966), 1: 492 (Skeat's translation). This text, which is now recognised as non-Ælfrician, develops the Latin source in a typically Anglo-Saxon way: "Et supra muros et pinnacula ciuitatis suspendebant eos, et capita eorum iuxta ciuitatem ante portas infigebant in ligno. Et uolocres caeli carnes eorum et uiscera detinentes in ore suo circa murum circuibant, comedentes membra athletarum et martyrum Christi" [And they hung them over the walls and pinnacles of the city and thrust their heads on wood by the city in front of the gates. And the birds of the air took their flesh and organs in their mouth [and] circled the walls devouring the limbs of the champions and martyrs of Christ]: Hugh Magennis, ed., *The*

who will hang on the gallows includes having his eye pecked out and the flesh of his lifeless body torn by a dark-coated raven ("hrefn . . . salwipad").¹⁵ This horror will not happen to the Geats. They are rescued by the dramatic arrival at dawn of Hygelac's troop, with horn and trumpet (lines 2941–2945), and it is Ongentheow himself who perishes in a bloody fight against Wulf and Eofor which includes three savage sword cuts to the head that cause blood to spurt from under his hair and shatter his helmet. Clearly this was a famous victory, and Hygelac continued to be known (vicariously) as "bonan Ongenþeoðes" [the killer of Ongentheow (line 1968)]. On the face of it, Ongentheow gets a raw deal. He has engaged the Geats in revenge for their aggression: the invasion of his land and the abduction and robbery of his queen. An old man (he is, like Hrothgar, *blondenfexa*, "grey-haired", line 2962), he fights bravely alone against two younger warriors. If we consider, however, the horror of what he intended to do to the Geats, we may feel he deserves what he gets.

The proper disposal of the body was clearly important to the Anglo-Saxons, and had been so since long before the Christian Church associated it with the fate of the soul. Thousands of pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon graves have been discovered, laid out with grave-goods according to recognisable patterns, or containing cinerary urns decorated in characteristic techniques and styles, most of them in what were clearly designated burial sites well away from the settled areas. Though not all members of society may have been treated in this way, it is clear that a significant number of them were. Christianity probably reinforced the importance of "proper" funerals, to the extent that, as Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has pointed out, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as a standard (probably biblical-derived) formula "upon mention of the death of a person of rank, the place of burial is noted with 'and his (her) body lies at X'."¹⁶ Something of the horror

Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers, Durham Medieval Texts 7 (Durham, 1994), 74, lines 25–28 (the translation is my own). Ælfric's own brief version of the story omits this detail: see Godden, CH 2: 247–48. Carrion is the favourite food of the raven (*Corvus corax*). The rook (*Corvus frugilegus*) will eat carrion indiscriminately along with small birds and animals, eggs, and vegetable food.

¹⁵ George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Exeter Book*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York and London, 1936), 154–55, lines 33–42.

¹⁶ Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England," ASE 27 (1998): 209–32, here 211 and note 4, where instances are noted in twelve *Chronicle* annals.

an Anglo-Saxon audience might have felt at denial of proper funeral rites can be explained by the fact that in late Anglo-Saxon society lack of burial was the fate of criminals and excommunicates who had not atoned for their sins. Elaine Treharne has noted the significance of part of an introductory addition to Vercelli Homily IX, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115, which lists some of the sins which could result in excommunication and the results of this, including denial of proper burial: "ne hi nan man ne byrge binnan gehalgodan mynstre, ne furþum to hæþenum pytte ne bere, ac drage butan cyste butan hi beswicon" [nor should any man bury them within the holy church, nor even carry them to a heathen pit, but drag them away without a coffin unless they repent].¹⁷ It is interesting to note that "the heathen pit", though obviously inferior in the eyes of the Christian writer to burial in "the holy church", is still recognised as a legitimate resting place.¹⁸ The worst fate of all is to be denied burial of any kind.

There was, and still is, a kind of horror about the unrecovered body, whether it is the casualty of modern warfare or murder, or the victim of a fictional medieval monster. Neither religious beliefs nor legal requirements entirely account for the human compulsion to see loved or respected ones "properly" laid to rest. There is clearly some deep psychological need. Legal requirements alone do not explain why people should go to the enormous expense, difficulty, and anguish of raising a body from a plane that has crashed into the sea, only to bury the remains at sea again, as in the case of John Kennedy Jr. Anglo-Saxon poets exploit this universal human necessity to add an extra dimension to their narrative. In a literary heroic world where war is common, the impact of bereavement and grief can become dulled. Comrades' corpses carried off for consumption by wolves

¹⁷ E. M. Treharne, "A Unique Old English Formula for Excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303," ASE 24 (1995): 185–211, at 198 quoting D. G. Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o.s. 300 (Oxford, 1992), 161 (the translation is my own).

¹⁸ The implication that the bodies of heathens in the Christian Anglo-Saxon period were dumped in a communal grave is not, so far as I know, confirmed by archaeology, and not at all compatible with the evidence of earlier Anglo-Saxon pagan graves and Viking burials.

or carrion-eating birds,¹⁹ a severed head on a cliff, or a son's body hanging on the gallows sharpen the perception of agony.

The most extreme case of non-burial in *Beowulf*, however, is not any beloved human being; it is the monster Grendel. Even among the monsters of the poem, Grendel's fate stands out. The dragon's corpse is at least disposed of, pushed over the cliff in an undignified echo of Scyld Scefing's sea funeral (lines 3131–3133).²⁰ Grendel's mother is simply abandoned by the narrator once she has been struck dead, as Beowulf turns his attention to Grendel's corpse. Beowulf leaves her where she fell, her underwater lair becoming her tomb. Grendel, however, suffers dismemberment and decapitation: first his arm is wrenched off during the fight in Heorot, and hung up as a trophy. Then, as he lies dead, his head is severed, separated from his body, and brought to the hall to be exposed. The reactions of the Danes to the trophies are curiosity and delight, but there is no doubt that they are gruesome and horrible objects. The recognition of her son's blood-covered arm hanging exposed at Hrothgar's roof, and his death from the wound, cause Grendel's mother considerable grief, a fact appreciated by Beowulf when he tells his tale to Hygelac, though no one spares her any sympathy at the time, being preoccupied with the manifestation of her revenge, the abduction of Æschere (lines 1302–1303, 2113–2122).

The decapitation of Grendel's corpse is unnecessary. The monster is already lifeless ("aldorlēasne", line 1587) and can do no more harm to the Danes. There may be a preventative element in Beowulf's action, an avoidance of the dead monster "walking" again, as in the re-killing of the zombie Glámr in the Old Norse *Grettis saga*, a well-known analogue to *Beowulf*,²¹ and reflected in the occasional cases of decapitation and repositioning of the head which can be found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of

¹⁹ The "Beasts of Battle", which in their full complement include the eagle, the raven and the wolf, feature in poetic battle scenes in several Old English poems, including *Elene*, *The Battle of Brunanburg*, *Judith*, *The Wanderer*, and *Beowulf* itself.

²⁰ Owen-Crocker, *Four Funerals*, 86.

²¹ Grettir decapitates the "walking dead" Glámr and places his head between his legs: G. N. Garmonsway and J. Simpson, *Beowulf and its Analogues* (London, 1968; repr. 1980), 312.

the conversion period, evidently a time of uncertainty and superstition.²² Probably more prominent is the motif of equity. Just as Grendel's violating and murderous arm was struck off,²³ so Grendel's head is taken in requital for Æschere's head.

Decapitation and exposure of the head were recognised punishments for criminals, as is apparent from the reference in 'The Seven Sleepers' (above, p. 90). We have confirmation of it from Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries: at Walkington Wold, East Yorkshire, several skulls were found buried separately from the skeletons, some of which had lost the lower jaw after rotting. These heads had evidently been exposed for a period before burial.²⁴ At Wor Barrow, Dorset, too, Andrew Reynolds states, "the display of decapitated heads was evidently the norm,"²⁵ and occasional instances of severed and separated heads at other execution sites,²⁶ also suggest the practice. The seventh- to ninth-century cemetery at Old Dairy Cottage, Hampshire, which had seven decapitations, stood at the boun-

²² See Owen, *Rites and Religions*, 74–75. For specific cases see A. L. Meaney and S. C. Hawkes, *Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall, Winchester, Hampshire*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Medieval Monograph Series 4 (London, 1970).

²³ The severing of Grendel's *hond* (line 834), which he had used (*folmum*, line 722) to violate a building that, to the heroic world, was almost sacred and to seize warriors (*mid handa*, line 746) is subtly appropriate as a "punishment". The loss of a hand is not a common punishment in the Anglo-Saxon laws, and when it occurs it is generally made clear that a hand is to be struck off because it was with the hand that the crime was committed. According to the Laws of King Alfred the loss of a hand was the penalty for theft from a church (Ælfred 7); later it was the punishment for a corrupt moneyer (I Æthelstan 14, 1; II Cnut 8,1); significantly, under Æthelstan, the severed hand was to be set up "on ða mynetsmiððan" [at [or 'on' or 'in'] the mint] as Grendel's hand is displayed beneath the roof of Heorot (line 836): F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1898–1916), 1: 52, 158, 314.

²⁴ J. E. Bartlett and R. W. Mackey, "Excavations on Walkington Wold, 1967–1969," *East Riding Archaeology* 1 (1973): 1–93, esp. 21, 24–26. There were eleven apparent executions at Walkington Wold, which were not contemporary. Some of the skulls had signs that they had been cut off with a sharp instrument, and only the single female skull was buried with its body. Graves were rough or shallow. The excavators assumed that this execution group dated to soon after the Roman period, but Richards (Julian D. Richards, "Cottam: An Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds," *Archaeological Journal* 156 [1999]: 1–111, here 93) assumes it is late Saxon, following Reynolds (Andrew J. Reynolds, "Anglo-Saxon Law in the Landscape: An Archaeological Study of the Old English Judicial System," Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1998).

²⁵ Reynolds, "Law in the Landscape," 163.

²⁶ Reynolds, "Law in the Landscape," 163, cites Bran Ditch, Cambridgeshire; Meon Hill, Hampshire; and Roche Court Down, Wiltshire.

dary of three Anglo-Saxon estates, the records of which all refer to *heafod stocc* at this point, obviously the "head stake" on which the gruesome remains were impaled.²⁷ At Cottam, Yorkshire, a weathered, jawless skull found in a pit has been interpreted as the remains of an execution eventually buried in what was possibly the hole in which the gallows stood.²⁸ Cottam was not a cemetery but a settlement site (of eighth- to ninth-century date), confirming the literary evidence that heads were exposed close to habitation.

Contemporary evidence, then, suggests that Grendel's body receives just punishment for the atrocities he has committed; but we should not be misled into underestimating the magnitude and dramatic effect of the decapitation. Even in a world where beheading was a recognised punishment, a severed head was a horrific sight to those who witnessed it. The poet's reference to Grendel's head being carried onto the floor of the hall where men drank "egeslic for eorlum ond þære idese mid, / wlateson wrætlic" [terrible in front of noblemen and the lady with them, a wondrous spectacle (lines 1647-1650)] is typically understated and we are not granted the satisfaction of a description of the monstrous head now it is at last exposed to light; but the impact of the horrific thing that has been carried into the hall where noblemen and the queen pursue their aristocratic pleasures is obvious. Similarly, the poet of the Middle English poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* will explain that the purpose of the decapitation in Arthur's hall was to frighten Guinevere to death; she was accustomed to tournaments and injuries, but a severed head in the hall was a different matter.²⁹ The effect of decapitation on a watcher is graphically illustrated in the lower drawing on fol. 59r of the Harley Psalter (London, British Library MS Harley 603):³⁰ the psalmist watches the beheading of the Lord's "saints" (Psalm 116:15) with an unmistakable gesture of horror, right hand across the lower part of the face, probably reflecting the

²⁷ Reynolds, "Law in the Landscape," 130-31.

²⁸ Richards, "Cottam," 93.

²⁹ Though in this case there was the additional horror that the headless knight continued to converse before the high table: W. R. J. Barron, ed., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Manchester, 1974), 158, lines 2459-2462.

³⁰ Thomas H. Ohlgren, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (Kalamazoo, 1992), 223.

words "I suffered distress and anguish" which occur in the third verse of the psalm.

The Anglo-Saxons would have been familiar with stories of the decapitation of Christian martyrs (and, occasionally, their accusers), though this is not a very common means of death in Old English saints' lives, many of the protagonists enduring more colourful and imaginative mutilations and ordeals.³¹ The climax of a martyr's beheading sometimes comes after a long anticipation and is itself the occasion for a miracle: the British Christian St. Alban was beheaded at Verulamium in 301, together with his erstwhile executioner, provoking a grotesque miracle: the substitute executioner's eyes fell out as the saint's head fell.³² Other stories of martyrdom involve the separation of the severed head from the body and their miraculous reunion. The body of Bishop Dionysius, decapitated along with other saints "with sharp axes", arose and re-united itself with its head before walking, headless, with a company of angels to the place where it desired to lie.³³ A more elaborate version of this theme of the reunification of the body is to be found in the Passion of Saint Edmund, the Anglo-Saxon king of East Anglia who was killed by Danish Vikings in 870.³⁴ Having survived beating with cudgels, flogging with whips, and impaling with arrows, Edmund was executed by decapitation on the orders of Ivar. The Vikings hid his head in dense brambles "so that it would not be buried" and the mourning subjects who took up Edmund's body were particularly sorrowful "because they did not have the head to the body." The situation is similar to that of *Æschere's* mourners who had the head, but no body to cremate. There was a more satisfactory outcome for Edmund's subjects: while they searched the woods for the head, a wolf miraculously protected it "day and night" from other beasts (evidently denying its own nature as a "beast of battle" to do so), though it was "ravenous and hungry." The head was recovered and laid with the body for a hasty

³¹ See "torture" in Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blicking and Vercelli Codices* (Hockwold cum Wilton, 1995).

³² Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1. 7: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, (Oxford, 1969), 28-34; retold by Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, 19: ed. Skeat, 1: 414-25, here 420, 422.

³³ *Lives of Saints*, 29: ed. Skeat, 2: 186, 188.

³⁴ Written in Latin by Abbo of Fleury and translated by Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, 32: ed. Skeat, 2: 314-35.

burial. At the subsequent translation of the saint, not only was the body found to be miraculously incorrupt, but the head and body were physically joined once more.

Among native legends and history, Christian heroes are sometimes decapitated by heathen enemies, obviously a particularly nasty fate. A twelfth-century account of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, leader of the English force at the Battle of Maldon (991), records that the Anglo-Saxon warrior was beheaded by a rush of Vikings as he fought and that the Vikings carried the head away with them: "conglobati unanimiter in eum irruerunt et caput pungnantis vix cum magno labore secuerunt, quod inde fugientes secum in patriam portaverunt" [[the enemy] grouping together, rushed with one resolve upon him and, with great effort, just managed to cut off his head as he fought. They took this away from there with them as they fled to their native land]. The monks of Ely reclaimed the Ealdorman's body from the battlefield and the abbot ordered a ball of wax to replace the head in the subsequent burial.³⁵ When, in 1769, the alleged tomb of Byrhtnoth was explored, the absence of a skull and evidence of an almost-severed collar bone appeared to confirm the atrocity.³⁶

Intriguingly, the Northumbrian saint King Oswald, another victim of a pagan enemy, lost the same body parts as Grendel. Like Grendel's arm and head, Oswald's severed members were taken as trophies, but they eventually became holy relics. Oswald was killed in 642 at Maserfield fighting against Penda of Mercia, who ordered Oswald's head and arms to be hacked off and fixed on stakes. The rest of his bones were recovered and translated to Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) through the intervention of his niece, Queen Osthryda of Mercia, but the head and arms were recovered by Oswald's brother King Oswy who deposited the head at Lindisfarne,³⁷ from where it was carried by the Lindisfarne monastic community to Chester-le-Street and eventually Durham, along with the remains of St. Cuthbert and relics of St. Aidan. One hand, or possibly both hands,

³⁵ Alan Kennedy, "Byrhtnoth's Obits and Twelfth-Century Accounts of the Battle of Maldon" in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1991), 59–78, here 65, 68; the text is taken from E. O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Society Third Series 92 (London, 1962), 2. 136.

³⁶ Marilyn Deegan and Stanley Rubin, "Byrhtnoth's Remains: A Reassessment of his Stature," in *Maldon*, ed. Scragg, 289–293, here 289–91.

³⁷ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.6.11, 12; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 230, 244–46, 250–52.

was enshrined in a silver casket at St. Peter's Church, Bamburgh, fulfilling St. Aidan's prophecy "May this hand never perish" made on the occasion of Oswald's extreme generosity to the poor at an Eastertide some time between 636 and his death. As Hrothgar laments for Æschere, whose severed head will shortly be found, he makes reference to the generous hand (of Æschere, presumably) which now lies dead, perhaps a reminiscence of the St. Oswald legend. This dead hand is part of the recurrent hand/arm imagery which threads through the poem and which includes the devoured feet and hands of Grendel's victim who is called Hondscio ("Hand-shoe" or "Mitten", lines 745, 2076), and Beowulf's legendary strength of arm both in battle (*hondgemōt[a]*, line 2355) and in carrying thirty sets of battle gear away from Frisia (lines 2361–2362), coming to greatest prominence in the hand-to-hand fight between monster and hero.³⁸ "Head" and "hand" imagery interlock in a complex pattern of offence and retribution.

Anglo-Saxon biblical and moral narratives include several instances of decapitation, which were well known,³⁹ and many of which were depicted graphically in illustrated manuscripts. Characteristically, the ostensibly weaker combatant beheads the stronger, the good conquers the evil: the woman Judith decapitates Holofernes, the boy David decapitates Goliath, the Virtue *Humilitas* (Humility) decapitates the Vice *Superbia* (Pride) in Prudentius's allegorical poem *Psychomachia*.⁴⁰ In order for this to be achieved, the victim must be already stunned or unconscious: Holofernes is drunk, Goliath felled by a pebble hurled from a sling, and *Superbia* tumbled from her horse. Grendel, of course, comes into this category as he is lying dead in the monsters' lair when Beowulf cuts off his head. Though Beowulf is not weaker than Grendel — the poet explicitly makes the point about Beowulf carrying thirty sets of battle gear which balances Grendel's having the strength of thirty men — mankind in general has proved weaker than Grendel until Beowulf's arrival, and his decapitation

³⁸ Owen-Crocker, *Four Funerals*, 186.

³⁹ Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, for example, includes reference to Judith's decapitation of Holofernes: H. J. Thomson, trans., *Prudentius*, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London, 1949–1953), 2: 282.

⁴⁰ As Bremmer points out ("Grendel's Arm and the Law," 124–25) decapitation is followed by exposure of the head as clear evidence of victory, in the cases of Goliath (1 Samuel 31:9–10) and Holofernes ([Vulgate] Judith 13:19). The head of *Superbia* is displayed, in addition to the decapitation scene, in the illustrated Prudentius manuscripts (e.g., Cotton Cleopatra C viii, fol. 17r: Ohlgren, *Textual Illustration*, 495).

is a triumph of the human over the monstrous. It is also a resounding triumph for Good over Evil.

Other victims of decapitation in Anglo-Saxon art are bound or at least compliant, like Isaac in the opening to the *Psychomachia* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C viii, fol. 4r, who, with hands unbound behind his back, bows his head to the sword wielded by Abraham.⁴¹ This is a standard position for execution as depicted in art, from at least the second-century Roman Column of Marcus Aurelius, which shows Germanic soldiers being forced to execute one another, through the Harley Psalter (c. 1000), to the Bayeux Tapestry, which was probably made in the 1080s: the victim bends forward unsupported,⁴² and is often held by the hair, offering no resistance. (This holding by the hair is a humiliation which is meted out to Grendel's head, too, as it is brought into Heorot, line 1647.) Decapitation in pitched battle is clearly unusual. Beowulf's feat in achieving this against Grendel's mother (lines 1557–1569) is a triumph of opportunism and speed: he sees the gigantic sword and acts fast. We must not underestimate it.

Our own culture has become immunised to effects of violence by the movie industry, where mutilation is instantly repairable, to the extent that this industry is now satirising itself and "Oh my God, they killed Kenny" until recently, rang out anew in each episode of *South Park*; but the tendency to treat past atrocities as black comedy, characterised by *Horrible Histories*⁴³ and detectable in some more academic studies too, should not be allowed to disguise the horror and disgust which was undoubtedly felt by a contemporary audience to gushes of blood (which could not be replaced with transfusions), mutilation (not repairable with plastic surgery), and violent, unanaesthetised death. Dismemberment and decapitation

⁴¹ Ohlgren, *Textual Illustration*, 473.

⁴² Reynolds ("Law in the Landscape," 163) cites the imminent decapitation of Isaac by Abraham in the Old English Hexateuch, BL MS Cotton Claudius B iv, fol. 38 as "significantly earlier evidence for the use of a support for the head [of the victim of decapitation] than previously known [1450]"; it seems to me, however, that Isaac bends over an altar (in the usual position) rather than rests on what Reynolds identifies as a "block". Isaac does not touch the table, which is draped with a cloth. The table certainly does not support his head. His father does this by holding his hair.

⁴³ A very popular series by Terry Deary, published by Scholastic Children's Press, London. Its titles include *The Rotten Romans*, *The Smashing Saxons*, and *The Vicious Vikings*.

were recounted of martyrs because they were horrific.⁴⁴ Sanctity might turn execution into a miracle and overcome dismemberment,⁴⁵ but the twentieth- and twenty-first-century perception of the conventional nature of saintly suffering should not sanitise our response to details which must have shocked Anglo-Saxon recipients. The threat that proper burial could be denied and that one's body might be hung out for the birds to peck at was no laughing matter: it was surely an effective deterrent from excommunicable sin and criminal activity. The *Beowulf*-poet constantly plays on these sensitivities. That Beowulf, and Wiglaf, conjure up the horrors of death by monster and face them with equanimity both gives the audience a satisfying burst of horror, and portrays the heroes as masters of Anglo-Saxon "cool".

⁴⁴ Although, ironically, saints' body parts were distributed *post mortem* as holy relics. "We should not imagine that the saints were conceived abstractly as disembodied spirits. Theirs was a physical and palpable presence: that is to say, the saint was physically present in each shrine insofar as that shrine contained a relic of his/her body — a bone, a fingernail, a lock of hair, whatever", Michael Lapidge, "The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and idem (Cambridge, 1991), 243–63, here 243.

⁴⁵ It was believed that whatever the fate of the body it would rise on the seventh day of the Apocalypse to face judgment in its accustomed form: "ond aweccæþ ealle þa lichoman of deaþe, þeah þe hie ær eorþe bewrigen hæfde, oþþe on wætere adrunca, oþþe wildeor abiton, oþþe fuglas tobæron, oþþe fixas toslitan, oþþe on ænige wisan of þisse worlde gewiton, ealle hie sceolan þonne arisan ond forþgân to þam dome, on swylcum heowe swa hie ær hie sylfe gefrætwodan" [and [St. Michael] will raise up all bodies from death, even though earth had previously covered them, or they drowned in water, or wild animals tore them apart, or birds carried them off, or fishes ripped them, or they departed in any way from this world, they must all then arise and go forth to the judgment in the same appearance as they adorned themselves before]: Blickling Homily for Easter Sunday: R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, EETS o.s. 58, 63, 73 (London, 1874–1880; repr. as 1 vol. 1967), 95 (my translation). Note that those who failed to praise Christ would have been carried off to eternal punishment the previous day.

ALEXANDER R. RUMBLE

Interpretationes in latinum:

Some Twelfth-Century Translations
of Anglo-Saxon Charters

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN Old English and Latin text, of great importance to modern research on Anglo-Saxon topics, has been a subject of some tension since at least the early seventh century when King Æthelberht and his advisers deemed it expedient and sensible to retain the formulaic vernacular prose used to record existing oral legal custom when having the laws of the Kentish people committed to writing.¹ Although

¹ Compare Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), 93–101, esp. 101.

The following abbreviations are used in the present paper: BCS = *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. Walter de Gray Birch, 3 vols. and index (London, 1885–1899); BL = London, British Library; Campbell, Rochester = *Charters of Rochester*, ed. A. Campbell, Anglo-Saxon Charters 1 (London, 1973); CCCant = Christ Church, Canterbury; CCCC = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College; CW + number = number of document in the descriptive list of contents of the *Codex Wintoniensis* in Rumble 1980, appendix 1; Davis = G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958); Harmer = *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. and trans. by F.E. Harmer (Manchester, 1952); Kelly, Abingdon = *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters VII–VIII (Oxford, 2001); Macray = *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, edited by W. Dunn Macray, Rolls Series 83 (London, 1886); MS = Manuscript; Monasticon = William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. B. Bandinel, J. Caley, and H. Ellis, 6 vols. (London, 1846); Pelteret = David A. E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge, 1990); Rumble

both in Kent and in the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms after their conversion Latin immediately attained the status of the official written medium for purposes other than the codification of law, as befitted the language of the Vulgate Bible, the Christian liturgy, and the Roman church, already by the late ninth century a decline in Latin scholarship caused King Alfred to bemoan the lack of learning in England in his (vernacular) prose "preface" to the translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*.² Significantly, it should be noted that his scheme for the revival of Latin depended first of all on the teaching of vernacular literacy.³ Later, although one very important effect of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform in England was to improve the latinity of the monks,⁴ resulting in the production of new texts in Latin, monastic writers also produced new vernacular works, as well as translations, and bilingual versions, since they too, like King Alfred before them, appreciated the impracticality of attempting any great expansion of intellectual activity in England while ignoring the national vernacular.⁵

Our appreciation of the constantly intertwined relationship between Latin and Old English texts and sources is being greatly enhanced as the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project, co-founded and co-directed by Donald Scragg, continues its progress. Both Latin sources for Anglo-Latin texts and Latin sources for Old English texts are being identified through this project. Sometimes it is also possible to study the use of Old English

1980 = Alexander Richard Rumble, "The Structure and Reliability of the *Codex Wintoniensis* (British Museum [now British Library] Additional MS 15350; the Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral Priory" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1980); S + number = number of document in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society (London, 1968), as revised by S. E. Kelly (privately circulated, 1994); s. + roman numeral = *saeculo* (for dates of manuscripts; superscript 1 = first half of century; superscript 2 = second half; in. = beginning of; med. = middle of; ex. = end of).

² Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. 500–1042 (London, 1955), 817–19 (no. 226A). Compare the paper by Szarmach in this volume.

³ *English Historical Documents*, 1: 819.

⁴ See Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993), *passim*.

⁵ The work of Ælfric, educated at the Old Minster, Winchester, under Bishop Æthelwold, is a prime example of the first fruits of the Benedictine Reform. For a bibliography of his works, see L. M. Reimsa, *Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York and London, 1987).

sources for Anglo-Latin texts.⁶ In addition, in the case of pre-Conquest documents, particularly where bilingual versions have survived, it should be noted that it is occasionally possible to show that certain Latin diplomas were productions secondary to their vernacular counterparts.⁷

It should not be forgotten, however, that the tension in the relationship between English and Latin continued in the centuries after 1066 as later historians and administrators, of varying linguistic backgrounds and competence, tried to make sense of the relevance of pre-Conquest texts and institutions to a society where Norman French also had a privileged place as the first spoken language of the new aristocracy.⁸ One almost immediate change brought about by the Norman Conquest was the decision made by the royal government of William I (? in 1070) to use Latin rather than English as the language used in the writing of writs.⁹ This made the surviving (highly formulaic) pre-Conquest writs even more unfamiliar than they might otherwise have been to people in subsequent generations wishing to use their evidence (particularly those writs issued by Edward the Confessor whom the Norman kings treated as their legal *antecessor*).¹⁰ It was one factor in the production of translations of writs into Latin in the twelfth century, on which the first part of the present paper will mainly concentrate. Besides writs, however, other categories of Old English document which can be placed under the general designation "charter" were

⁶ Thus both Asser and Æthelweard made use of versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. See *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983), 55–56; and *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), xxi–xxxiv.

⁷ This appears to be the case with S 817 (CW 27–28, where the retention of the Old English genitive form *Cyltancumbes* for the place-name Chilcomb, Hampshire, occurs in the Latin); and S 1376 (CW 21–22, where the Old English formulae are more natural than the Latin).

⁸ See C. Baswell, "Latinitas," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. D. Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 122–51, esp. 123–28, 132.

⁹ Although the diplomatic structure of the Anglo-Saxon writ was retained and soon expanded to form the basis of royal medieval charters and letters patent and close. See *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100 Presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith*, edited by T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford, 1957), xiii–xv; and Pierre Chaplais, *English Royal Documents: King John–Henry VI, 1199–1461*, 4–20. For the formulae of the Anglo-Saxon writ, see Harmer, 61–92.

¹⁰ The reign of Harold II (Godwinson) was ignored by the Normans. For quotations in Domesday Book of writs of Edward the Confessor as evidence for land tenure, see Harmer, 543–45.

also translated at this time, and some of these will also be discussed below where relevant.¹¹

I. TWELFTH-CENTURY TRANSLATIONS OF CHARTERS FROM OLD ENGLISH INTO LATIN

The small group of texts under discussion is part of a larger corpus of extant later versions of Anglo-Saxon charters, but their relative closeness in manuscript date to the Anglo-Saxon period makes them eminently worthy of study, even where the originals survive, since the twelfth-century texts belong to the generation of the grandchildren of those who fought at Hastings in 1066. The placing of them in their archival, manuscript, and historical contexts allows something to be said of both the immediate and the more general purpose of such translations. The existence of a number of dual-language versions allows a comparison of Latin and vernacular texts of the same document and reveals varying degrees of accuracy in the Latin translations, particularly of Old English legal and administrative vocabulary.

The translations under discussion fall into three categories (1-3, below).

1. Dual-language Texts, Apparently Constructed in the Twelfth Century, Surviving in Twelfth-century Cartularies

These texts survive from the following monastic archives: Abingdon, Bury St Edmunds, Christ Church Canterbury, Ely, and Rochester.

Abingdon

Two relevant cartularies survive in the Cotton collection in the British Library. One (Claudius C. ix: Davis 3) is datable mainly to before 1170, the other (Claudius B. vi: Davis 4) is late thirteenth century. The latter is an expansion and recopying of much of the same material found in the former, but in a different order.¹²

¹¹ That is, documents recording land transactions in Anglo-Saxon England, including diplomas, writs, letters, leases, writs, wills, memoranda, listed in S.

¹² On the two cartularies, see now Kelly, *Abingdon*, liii-lxiii.

Four dual-language texts occur in Claudius C. ix: two writs (S 1065–1066); one note of grant (S 1208); and one record of the sale of land (S 1216). The writs are as follows:

S 1065, Harmer 4, Kelly, *Abingdon* 148 (Edward the Confessor, 1052 x 1066). Both Old English and Latin texts survive, where the Latin seems to be a genuine word-for-word translation of the vernacular and is probably to be ascribed to the twelfth century. The cartulary-text is given the rubric: *Interpretatio in Latinum*. Within the body of the document, Old English legal terms have been translated, not merely latinised, and the equivalence between Old English and Latin words is indicated by the use of interlinear roman numerals in each text, as follows: i. “sacu” *litigium*, ii. “socn” *exquisitio*, iii. “toll” *teloneum*, iv. “team” *appropriatio*, v. “infangeneþeof” *infra captus latro*, vi. “hamsocn” *domus assaltus*, vii. “griðbryce” *pacis infractio*, viii. “foresteall” *obuiatio*.

S1066, Harmer 5, Kelly, *Abingdon* 149 (Edward the Confessor, 1053 x 1055 or 1058 x 1066). The same rubric is given as in S 1065, above, and the text is of similar type, but does not use interlinear numerals. Of the legal terms given, the translation of “socn” differs from that in S 1065 (*appropriatio*), while the Old English word “gemot” is rendered by *placitum*.

Bury St. Edmunds

There is one dual-language writ in the earliest part of Cambridge University Library, MS Mm. 4. 19 (s. xii ex.–s. xiv ; Davis 118). This is S 1072, Harmer 12 (Edward the Confessor, 1044 x 1065). Some expansion occurs in the Latin text: thus the vernacular phrase “on þam schiran þer þe lond inne liggeð” is rendered as *de uniuersis prouinciis ubicumque Sanctus Ædmundus habet aliquam terram*.

Christ Church Canterbury

The note of a grant by Æthelred II (S 1636, incomplete; *Monasticon*, I, 11, no. 38) survives in English and Latin versions added in the twelfth century to the flyleaf of the eleventh-century gospel book now Oxford, St John’s College MS 194 (Davis 180). Although the terms of the grant

(dated 979 in the English version) are basically the same in the two versions, the Latin text is shorter and omits the saving clause from the sanction. The royal style differs: in the English, Æthelred is called king of England and all its appurtenant islands; in the Latin he is *totius Britanniae monarcha*. The use of Old English "castel" and its Latin equivalent *castra* in the "Three Burdens" clause are equally anachronistic. Both versions were probably constructed in the twelfth century.

One should also note the existence of a series of dual-language writ-charters in the name of the Anglo-Norman kings in favour of Christ Church Canterbury, whose English parts were probably adapted from a writ of Cnut (S 1088, Harmer 33).¹³

Ely

One Anglo-Saxon writ in Latin and English versions occurs in Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.2.1 (s. xii ex., Davis 366; one manuscript of the *Liber Eliensis*). This is S 1100, Harmer 47 (Edward the Confessor, 1045 x 1066, ?1055 x 1066).¹⁴ Here the Old English legal terms are retained in the Latin text, unlatinised. Some lack of equivalence is shown, however, with the translation of the vernacular formulaic phrase "sitte. his man þer þar he sitte. wyrce. þæt he wyrce" which is rendered *omnes alias forisfacturas que emendabiles sunt in terra sua super homines suos*.¹⁵

Rochester

There is one dual-language document of this type in the *Textus Roffensis* (Rochester Cathedral MS A. 3. 5; s.xii¹; Davis 817). This is S 1511, Campbell, *Rochester* 35 and 35b, the will of Byrhtic and Ælfswith (975 x 987), and the Latin is a fairly close translation with some minor expansions. The Latin version has an additional rubric listing those estates

¹³ Henry I: Pelteret, 46–48. Stephen: Pelteret, 50. Henry II: Pelteret, 51, 54. See further Harmer, 174–75.

¹⁴ E. O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Society, 3rd ser. 92 (London, 1962), book 2, chaps. 95 and 95a (164–65).

¹⁵ Blake (*Liber Eliensis*, 165, n. 1) suggests that the Latin of this formula was taken from the confirmation charter of the customs of Ely, issued by William I (chap. 117, pp. 199–200; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. David Bates [Oxford, 1998], no. 122); the draftsman of this had himself used the Old English text of S 1100 as a source (Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, 419).

which were relevant to Rochester. As at Canterbury, we should note too the existence of dual-language grants for Rochester by Henry II.¹⁶

2. Latin Translations made in the Twelfth Century of Free-standing Old English Documents Which Still Exist in Manuscripts Earlier than the Twelfth Century

Some Old English texts survive in manuscripts which probably formed the exemplars for the vernacular part of bilingual texts in cartularies from Christ Church Canterbury and Rochester.

Christ Church Canterbury

The texts discussed here comprise two Anglo-Saxon writs (S 1089–1090); and one grant (S 1211–1212).¹⁷

S1089, Harmer 34 (Edward the Confessor, 1052 x 1066). The Latin version is extant in the twelfth-century cartularies CCCC MS 189 and Canterbury Cathedral, Reg P; the English single sheet is Canterbury Cathedral, Chart Ant C 3 of s.xi/xii. None of these was used by Harmer, but her work from later manuscripts suggests that the Old English text has some post-Conquest formulae.¹⁸ In the Latin version Old English titles of rank or office are translated but Old English legal terms are retained.

S1090, Harmer 35. Edward the Confessor's confirmation of a grant by Sigweard and his wife (1053 x 1061). The Old English version is an addition (s.xi ex.) to the gospel book BL Cotton Claudius A. iii (Davis 178). The Latin version (as printed by Harmer, but not from the earliest surviving MS) apparently makes several alterations and additions, as follows:

Earl Harold is excluded from the first clause; the appurtenances ("ælc þæra ðinga") are more precisely delimited (*pratis*,

¹⁶ Pelteret 52–53, 55.

¹⁷ There is also one memorandum of a grant (S 1389) and one record of a bequest (S 1530).

¹⁸ Harmer, 175–78.

siluis, marascis [sic]); Sigweard's wife is named as *Mahtildis*; a sanction is added; a statement is added that the original grant was made by Sigweard *pro salute anime sue*; the grant is specified as to be held *ad opus monachorum*; the grant of "sacu" and "socn" is excluded, and so is a reference to legal judgment ("ic wille þæt se dóm stande þe mine ðegenas gedémdan").

S 1211-1212, BCS 1064-1065, Queen Eadgifu grants Cooling and Osterland, Kent, to Christ Church Canterbury (c. A.D. 959). The Old English version survives in a manuscript of s.x med.; the Latin is in both CCCC MS 189 and Canterbury Cathedral, Reg P. The Latin text, as printed in BCS from the thirteenth-century Lambeth Palace MS 1212, apparently adds a paragraph with a statement regarding the gift in 961 of various estates to Christ Church, including Cooling, and changes the grammatical person from 3rd person singular to 1st person singular.

Rochester

S 1458, Campbell, *Rochester* 34 and 34b. An account of the history of Wouldham, Erith, Cray, and Eynsford, Kent, up to the time of Archbishop Dunstan. The OE text is in a manuscript of s.x². It was copied into the *Textus Roffensis* (Davis 817) where a Latin version also appears. The Latin expands the text in parts, e.g., *probus homo* is added to describe Ælfstan. However, his byname "Heahstaninc" = "son of Heahstan" is omitted. The term "scirman" = "shire-man" (apparently a judge in the shire-court) is glossed as *iudex comitatus* / *iudex prouincię*. The legal term "morgengifu" = "morning-gift" is correctly explained as *tantum quod ei dederat . . . quando eam primum accepit uxorem*.

3. Latin Translations Apparently made in the Twelfth Century for Which No Respective Old English Texts Survive

One example survives from Abingdon and one from Evesham. Both at Ely and at Ramsey more substantial translations were made within a narrative framework, using Old English sources which are now otherwise unknown.

Abingdon

S 1404, Harmer 3, Kelly, *Abingdon* 143. This is the Latin text of a letter of Bishop Siward to the shire-court of Berkshire (1045 x 1048), surviving in BL Cotton Claudius C. ix (Davis 3). The use of *nobilis* for "þegn" may be noted.

Ely

The Latin text of the narrative of the tenth-century refoundation (*the Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*, surviving only as part of the *Liber Eliensis*) was made in the early twelfth century. It either was translated from an existing vernacular narrative or was constructed *de novo* from a number of individual Old English memoranda.¹⁹ It has been said that "with due allowance for embellishments and rhetorical flourishes and the benefit of hindsight, the Latin reproduces the Old English in a broadly accurate form."²⁰

Evesham

S 991, Harmer 48 (the Latin text of a writ of Cnut, 1017 x 1030), in the twelfth-century cartulary BL Cotton Vespasian B. xxiv (Davis 381). Although some of the phraseology is post-Conquest (e.g., the use of *baro* for "þegn"), the authenticity of the transaction recorded may be genuine.²¹

Ramsey

S 996-997 and 1106-1110 are Latin texts of writs of Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor. They are found in the fourteenth-century copies of the *Liber Benefactorum* (Davis 788d and 790), a narrative which was probably first translated or composed 1160 x 1170.

A general statement of the rationale for translating English texts is given in the preface to the *Liber*:

... cartarum nostrarum privilegiorum quoque et cyrographorum cedulas,
de antiquitatis strue recollectas, omnes in volumen unum (quæ Anglice

¹⁹ See Alan Kennedy, "Law and Litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*," ASE 24 (1995): 131-83, esp. 131-34. For the text, see Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, 73-117.

²⁰ Kennedy, "Law and Legislation," 133.

²¹ Harmer, 227.

*scriptæ fuerant in Latinum ydioma conversas) . . . ad cautelam futurorum et legentium notitiam censuimus congerendas.*²²

Several individual documents from the *Liber* are stated in their rubrics to have been translated:

*[cyrographum] . . . quod de Anglico Latinum fecimus*²³

*[cyrographum] quod de Anglico convertimus in Latinum*²⁴

*carta . . . quam de Anglico in idioma Latinum mutavimus*²⁵

The stated policy of translating all English documents was not universally adhered to, however, as elsewhere the *Liber* refers to other Anglo-Saxon documents which had not been translated, merely summarised:

*Dedit . . . Oswoldus quinque hidas apud Burwelle . . . Hæc est illa terra quam, sicut in vetustissimis scedulis Anglice scriptum reperimus, vir quidam Edwynus nomine, filius Othulfi, venerabili antea concesserat archiepiscopo Odone . . .*²⁶

This group of Latin texts cannot be compared with any Old English versions as none has survived. The latter were perhaps destroyed, or at least neglected, once they had been translated.

II. THE TRANSLATION OF OLD ENGLISH TECHNICAL TERMS

Something can be said of the degree of accuracy shown by twelfth-century translators from Old English to Latin from a study of those texts where we

²² Macray, 4. I translate this as follows: "We have resolved that all of our charters and also (all of) the documents of privileges and chirographs, gathered from the heap of antiquity, should be collected together in one book for the knowledge of readers and for the security of future people; those which were written in English having been converted into the Latin language . . ."

²³ Macray, 57; S 1810.

²⁴ Macray, 82; S 1371.

²⁵ Macray, 167; S 1110.

²⁶ Macray, 49: "Oswald gave five hides at Burwell . . . This is that estate which, as we have discovered in very old documents written in English, a certain man named Eadwine, the son of Othulf, had formerly granted to the venerable Archbishop Odo . . ."

have versions in both languages to compare. A certain amount of variety, confusion, and sometimes inaccuracy is shown, particularly in the following two categories of word:

1. Words Denoting Rank or Office

"kynehlaford" = "the king": *naturalis dominus suus rex* (S 1511, Rochester)

"seo hlæfdige" = "the Lady" (i.e., the king's consort): *domina sua regina* (S 1511, Rochester)

"eorl" = "earl": *baro* (S 1100, Ely), *comes*, *procer* (S 1089, CCCant), *dux* (S 1072, Bury; S 1089, CCant)

"ealdorman" = "ealdorman": *princeps* (S1216, Abingdon), *senator* (S 1208, Abingdon)

"þegn" = "thegn": *baro* (S 1065-6, Abingdon; S 1072, Bury), *dilector* "lover" (S 1090, CCCant), *fidelis* (S 1089, CCCant; S 1100, Ely), *princeps* (S 1208, Abingdon)²⁷

"scirgerefa" = "sheriff": *vicecomes* (S 1089, CCCant)

"scirman" = "shire-man": *id est iudex comitatus / iudex prouincię* (S 1458, Rochester)²⁸

"motgerefa" = "moot-reeve": *prepositus* (S 1066, Abingdon)

"wicnere" = "official": *minister* (S 1089, CCCant)

2. Words Denoting Types of Will

The translations from Rochester of such words seem more like explanatory glosses, their length suggesting that the terms were expected to be unfamiliar, at least to future readers of the *Textus Roffensis*.

"cwide" = "will": *commendatio uel distributio rerum suarum* (S1458, Rochester), *donatio* (S 1511, Rochester)²⁹

²⁷ The Latin equivalent of "þegn" in the Anglo-Saxon period is normally *minister*. Note also *nobilis* in S 1404 (Abingdon), where the Old English text has not survived but it is clear from the diplomatic context that "þegn" is meant.

²⁸ Used with reference to Wulfsige *presbyter* "the priest", a judge in the shire-court of Kent.

²⁹ Note that in the Latin version of S 1089 (Harmer 34) *donatio* is (correctly) used as

"nihsta cwide" = "deathbed bequest": *ultima commendatio siue rerum suarum pro Deo distributio . . . appropinquante die mortis eorum* (S 1511, Rochester)³⁰

III. THE *EXPOSITIONES VOCABULORUM*

During the twelfth century a glossary began to circulate which contained Old English terms relating to profits of justice and land tenure, such as those which were used in Anglo-Saxon writs, together with their Old French equivalents or explanations. By the end of the century the glossary also included Latin equivalents, and some of these are as follows (with the OE term added in brackets):³¹

"Sachke" [= OE "sacu"], *interpretatur jurisdictio*

"Infangentheof" [OE "infangeneþeof"], *interpretatur infra suum fundum comprehendere furem vel reum*

"Sochne" [OE "socn"], *interpellatio majoris audientiae*

The earliest version of the glossary may have been composed by Alexander, Archdeacon of Salisbury and later Bishop of Lincoln, in the first half of the twelfth century.³² It was considerably expanded in subsequent centuries when its existence and continuous circulation obviated for all practical purposes the need for any further translation of the Old English writs. It gave a better understanding to landowners and lawyers of the rights given in pre-Conquest writs, while in documents issued thenceforth it allowed the use of either the Old English word itself or of latinised, rather than translated, versions of these terms.

the equivalent of "cwide" in the OE, as the vernacular term is used here in a context which indeed requires (*pace* Harmer) a broader meaning than "bequest".

³⁰ Note also the equivalence of "cwide": *suarum rerum testamentum in extremo* in S 1488 (Abingdon), where the Latin version is s. xii but the Old English one only survives in London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius C. ix (of s. xiii).

³¹ Forms taken from MS A (London, BL Royal MS 14 C. II, s.xii ex.: Roger of Howden) as quoted in the footnotes in *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, edited by H. Hall, 3 vols., Rolls Series 99 (London, 1897), 2: 1032-39; see also ccclviii.

³² Hall, *Red Book*, ccclxiii-lxv, and 1032 (title).

IV. THE CASE OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY

Although Winchester Cathedral priory (earlier known as the Old Minster) is omitted from the above lists of monasteries where twelfth-century translation of documents from Old English to Latin occurred, two observations may be made. First, although some dual-language texts (none of them writs) were copied into the twelfth-century parts of the *Codex Wintoniensis* (BL Additional MS 15350; Davis 1042),³³ these have been excluded from the present discussion as several may have been made in the Anglo-Saxon period, some of them in the later tenth century under the influence of Bishop Æthelwold.³⁴

Second, one might, at a stretch, class the updating of vernacular orthography from Old English to "Southern" early Middle English in documents in those parts of the *Codex Wintoniensis* copied by scribe *a* between 1129 and 1139 as a form of "translation", although it represents an interpretation between different stages in the development of English rather than between the vernacular and Latin.³⁵ Besides estate-boundaries *passim*, some quite long Anglo-Saxon texts are thus preserved in an early Middle English form instead of, as happened elsewhere, being translated into Latin. For example: the wills of Ælfgifu, Ealdorman Ælfheah, and Æthelstan the Ætheling (S 1484–1485 and 1503; respectively, CW 187, 185, 93, and 102); and estate memoranda associated with Taunton, Somer-

³³ Both into the primary part of the cartulary, datable 1129–1139, which I have designated as *Cod. Wint. I*, and into the part written by scribe *b* (s. xii med.) within the continuation *Cod. Wint. II*. See Rumble 1980; and idem, "The Purposes of the *Codex Wintoniensis*," in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies IV* (1981), ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1982), 153–66 and 224–32, here 153–65.

³⁴ These documents comprise six diplomas (S 312–313, 427, 693ab, 806, 817, 976; respectively, CW 168–169, 183–184, 111ab, 58 and 60, 27–28, and 231), one letter (S 1444; CW 188–189), one will (S 1513; CW 151–152), and one memorandum (S 1376; CW 21–22). For Æthelwold's connection with S 817, see Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.3 (Oxford, 2002), document V, iii. For S 1376 (an exchange of land to which Æthelwold was a party), see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, document VIII.

³⁵ See Rumble 1980, 1: 242–54, and 2, appendix 3: the results of my collation of the cartulary text with the surviving exemplars. Nine of these survive for *Cod. Wint. I*. Varying amounts of updating of English spelling (and sometimes syntax) seem to have occurred in other twelfth-century cartularies, but usually not enough exemplars survive to allow positive statements to be made through collation.

set, and Hurstbourne Priors, Hampshire (S 1242, 1819, and 359; CW 61, 65, and 142a). Doubtless it would have been difficult to translate texts such as these into Latin, but perhaps it was not thought necessary provided that contemporary or future Winchester monastic administrators were able to read the documents in a written version of the local vernacular more familiar to them than the original Old English.

V. THE PALAEOGRAPHICAL "INTERPRETATION" OF ANGLO-SAXON SCRIPTS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Transcription, when it entails the transfer of text from one script to another, is a form of visual interpretation. Twelfth-century cartulary scribes did not make facsimile copies of their exemplars, but converted them into modified forms of their own contemporary bookscripts. First, it should be remembered that, before the introduction of caroline minuscule in the mid-tenth century, Latin texts in England were normally written in insular varieties of script, some of them very cursive. Second, it is likely that many readers in twelfth-century England would have found Old English generally unfamiliar as a written language and even more difficult to read, as well as to understand, when written in insular or Anglo-Saxon minuscule rather than in protogothic minuscule (the twelfth-century script which developed from caroline minuscule).

The major differences between Anglo-Saxon minuscule and caroline minuscule scripts were variant forms of the letters *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *r*, *s* and the use in Anglo-Saxon minuscule of the letters *ash*, *thorn*, *eth*, and *wynn*. Unfamiliarity with English letter-forms (*apices*) is noted in the *Ramsey Chronicle*, and is given as the reason for rewriting pre-Conquest texts:

*Quia vero post dominationem Normannorum in Anglia hujusmodi apices minus usitati, minus cogniti habentur, cartas et cyrographa quæ in tempore ejusdem regis [Edward the Confessor] nobis facta sunt de Anglico in Latinum ad posterorum notitiam curavimus transmutare.*³⁶

³⁶ Macray, 161. "Since indeed after the rule of the Normans in England letter-forms of this sort have been less used [and] less known, we have taken care to change the characters and chirographs which were made for us in the time of the same king [Edward the Confessor] from English into Latin [script] for the understanding of posterity."

and:

*Universis itaque cartis et cyrographis quæ in archivis nostris Anglica barbarie exarata invenimus non sine difficultate in Latinos apices transmutatis . . .*³⁷

Often the resulting "interpretation" was a personal one, and can therefore sometimes be of use as evidence for the identification of individual scribes at this time. In Anglo-Saxon texts copied in the protogothic scripts of the twelfth century one finds different combinations of the Anglo-Saxon letter-forms being employed consistently by different scribes, even within the same manuscript. Looking, for example, at those twelfth-century cartularies which each contain more than twelve copies of Anglo-Saxon charters (those from Abingdon, Bath, CCCant (x 2), Evesham (x 2), Peterborough, Rochester, Sherborne, and Winchester Cathedral: respectively, Davis 3, 23, 163, 163A, 82, 381-382, 754, 817, 892, and 1042), one finds a variety of usages. Thus, scribes in the Bath Abbey cartulary and in the *Codex Wintoniensis* both use several Anglo-Saxon letter-forms but retain the caroline form for *a*.³⁸ A scribe of Reg P (CCCant) uses only ash of the special vernacular letters, changing thorn and eth to *th*, and wynn to *W*, *uu*, or *u*,³⁹ while in the Peterborough cartulary (the *Liber Niger*), we find a number of Anglo-Saxon letter-forms in use but not that for the letter *g*.⁴⁰

Whether one can correlate the degree of retention of Anglo-Saxon letter-forms with a scribe's linguistic ability to update Old English texts, or to translate them, might be an area for further study.

³⁷ Macray, 176. "All of the charters and chirographs which we have found in our archives written barbarously in English [script] we have therefore, not without difficulty, changed into Latin letter-forms."

³⁸ Bath: CCCC MS 111, the scribe of pp. 57-92; he was also inconsistent in using both Anglo-Saxon and caroline forms of *f*, *h*, *r*, and *s* in vernacular text. *Codex Wintoniensis*: scribe *a*; see Rumble 1980, 1: 57-59.

³⁹ Canterbury Cathedral, Reg P, fols. 11-29.

⁴⁰ London, Society of Antiquaries MS 60, fols. 25v-73. A similar preference for caroline *g* is shown in the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1132-54; written s .xii med.): Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 636, fols. 88v-91v.

VI. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE VARIOUS "INTERPRETATIONS" IN A TWELFTH-CENTURY CONTEXT

The twelfth-century copying and translation of pre-Conquest documents was sometimes, as at Winchester Cathedral, associated with attempts to restore lost parts of the Anglo-Saxon endowment of a particular church.⁴¹ Another reason might have been as a safeguard against future alienation, taking a lesson from events during the so-called "anarchy" of Stephen's reign.⁴² It is clear that copying of Anglo-Saxon documents at this time was not an antiquarian pursuit, as it was to become in the later medieval period,⁴³ but a pragmatic one.⁴⁴

Each of the processes described above — translation into Latin, updating into contemporary English, and transcription into contemporary script — reflected a growing uncertainty on the part of twelfth-century administrators about the ability of their successors to cope with Anglo-Saxon records in Old English. This worry was eventually obviated by the limiting of legal memory to 1189 by statutes of 1275 and 1293,⁴⁵ but in the twelfth century it was still a real concern. It is relevant that there was no absolute agreement between different twelfth-century translators on the equivalents for Old English legal or administrative terms. Probably at some places their exact significance was not understood in the post-Conquest period until after the development and circulation of the *Expositiones Vocabulorum*.

The twelfth century was a period when the content of these pre-Conquest documents was still legally important, but when their form (lin-

⁴¹ *Cod. Wint.* I was probably written 1129–1139 and is to be associated with King Stephen's Oxford Charter of 1136, one clause of which promised that the king would give judgment on any loss of the Church's temporal possessions held before the death of William I (1087). See Rumble, "Purposes," 156–64.

⁴² See Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550–c. 1307* (London, 1974), 279–80. For Ramsey, see also Macray, 4.

⁴³ See Antonia Gransden, "Antiquarian Studies in Fifteenth-Century England," *Antiquaries Journal* 60 (1980): 75–97.

⁴⁴ Compare R. W. Southern, "The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *idem, Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 158–80, here 160–62.

⁴⁵ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), 42, 152.

guistic or palaeographical) had to be changed to allow a full understanding or appreciation of the title-deeds relating to a church's Anglo-Saxon endowment. Scribes and compilers of cartularies at this time are to be seen in more than one way as "interpreters", some more successful than others, of these vernacular texts for future use by their colleagues and their successors.

CAROLE WEINBERG

“Hende” Words in

La3amon’s *Brut*

LA3AMON’S VERNACULAR HISTORICAL POEM, thought to have been written c. 1200, is extant in two British Library manuscripts, Cotton Caligula A. ix and Cotton Otho C. xiii. Although palaeographical examination has assigned both manuscripts to the second half of the thirteenth century, the Caligula version differs radically from the Otho.¹ The seemingly Old English nature of the lexis in the Caligula manuscript of the *Brut* (there are few French-derived words) and the preservation of more traditional metrical patterns have been explained as a consciously archaizing strategy on the part of La3amon in order to imprint upon his work an archaic character felt to be appropriate to its historical subject, “wat heo ihoten weoren and wonene heo comen/þa Englene londe ærest ahten” [what they were called and whence they came who first possessed the land of England].²

Cited as contributing significantly to this sense of archaism in Caligula

¹ For a detailed discussion of the two manuscripts and questions of dating, see Françoise Le Saux, *La3amon’s Brut: The Poem and its Sources* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), 1–13.

² All quotations from the Caligula manuscript of the *Brut* are from *La3amon’s “Brut”*, ed. and trans. by W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Harlow: Longman, 1995). The Otho text can be found in *La3amon: “Brut”*, ed. by G. L. Brook and R. Leslie, EETS o.s. 250, 277 (Oxford, 1963 and 1978). E. G Stanley discusses the archaic nature of La3amon’s diction in “La3amon’s antiquarian sentiments”, *Medium Ævum* 38 (1969): 23–37.

is the presence in the text of compound words reminiscent of those in the corpus of Old English poetry. In his investigation of these words, J. P. Oakden identified 411 in the category of nominal compounds:

of the 411 compounds, 183 are found alike in Old English prose and poetry; of these, 131 were in Old English prose works, though often occurring in poetry also; the remaining 52 compounds were exclusively poetic.³

Oakden's study went on to show, however, that about a third of the compound words in the *Brut* are found in other alliterative texts extant from the early Middle English period (alliterative verse and prose and the *Ancrene Riwe*),⁴ suggesting to both Françoise Le Saux and Jane Roberts in their studies of Laȝamon's vocabulary that many of the compounds could have been current in the early Middle English period.⁵ Adding to the argument for the Middle English context of much of Laȝamon's language is the comment by E. G. Stanley that "the syntax of the two versions of the *Brut* seems very Middle English," though he does admit that this view is no more than an impression, and that an "analysis of the whole of the two versions is required."⁶

The original audience for the *Brut* is a matter for conjecture, but it is reasonable to assume that it would have shared enough of the vocabulary Laȝamon used to make his language understandable. Although Laȝamon may show a knowledge of the Old English style of writing — and studies of his lexis have been largely concerned with establishing parallels with Old English poetic usage — what has been lacking is any detailed study of Laȝamon's vocabulary as early Middle English. In this paper, I wish to

³ J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1930, 1935), 2: 131.

⁴ Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry*, 2: 132.

⁵ Le Saux, *Laȝamon's Brut*, 191; Jane Roberts, "Laȝamon's Plain Words," in *Middle English Miscellany*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak (Posnan, 1996), 107–22 (here 109). Roberts comments that for "far too long Laȝamon's vocabulary has been examined in the light of Anglo-Saxon poetry" (119), and her paper, in looking at Laȝamon's use of terms for military equipment, raises questions about his vocabulary in relation to possible Old and early Middle-English prose usage.

⁶ E. G. Stanley, "Laȝamon's Un-Anglo-Saxon Syntax," in *The Text and Tradition of Laȝamon's "Brut"*, ed. Françoise Le Saux (Cambridge, 1994), 48.

focus on one early Middle English word, the adjective *hende*, which occurs frequently in the *Brut*. Not only is it of interest itself as a lexical item, but its semantic range in the *Brut* links it closely to the terms *corteis*, *corteisie*, and *corteisement* which are found in *Laȝamon's* main source, Wace's *Roman de Brut*.

Wace's *Roman de Brut*, an Anglo-Norman history of the early British rulers written in octosyllabic couplets, and itself a translated version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, was presented to Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife to Henry II, in 1155: we are told this by *Laȝamon* in the preface to his English adaptation of Wace (19–23). Judith Weiss, the most recent editor of the *Roman de Brut*, comments that "in the martial portions of his chronicle (and they are considerable) Wace is . . . still firmly in the world of epic but, as has long been recognized, in other respects his work provides a bridge to the newer world of twelfth-century romance. The words *curteis*, *curteisie*, *curteisement* are attached to his characters as they were not in Geoffrey."⁷ In a detailed analysis of these terms as used in twelfth-century French literary texts, Glyn Burgess identified a range of meanings, extending from military qualities to all the values/qualities essential to the world of romance and *lai*: beauty, prowess, wisdom, duty, love, and so on. Burgess summarizes the results of his analysis as follows:

Bref, la *cortoisie* médiévale est une manifestation de *savoir-vivre* réalisé dans le courage, le sens commun, la compréhension, la prévoyance et sans doute aussi dans ce que le français moderne appelle la "courtoisie".⁸

[In brief, medieval *cortoisie* is a manifestation of *savoir-vivre* displayed in courage, commonsense, understanding, forethought, as well as what modern French calls 'courtoisie'.]

Françoise Le Saux, in tracking the semantic range of the occurrences of *curteis*, *curteisie*, and *curteisement* in Wace's *Roman de Brut*, noted that these terms were "restricted to manifestations of breeding and wealth; gen-

⁷ Wace's *Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, ed. and trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter, 1999), xxiii. All quotations from and translations of Wace are from this edition.

⁸ Glyn Burgess, "Étude sur le terme *cortois* dans le français du XII^e siècle", *Travaux de Linguistique et de Philologie* 31 (1993): 195–209, here 205.

erosity, splendour, education, military valour for men, beauty for women." In short, she concluded that "courtoisie" in Wace is "quite literally the quality required to be socially acceptable at a royal court."⁹ She looked also at Laʒamon's practice in rendering the French terms, and came to the conclusion that "in the absence of a correspondingly general term in English," Laʒamon avoided the problem of providing an equivalent for the French by "focussing on the specific 'courtly' virtue which Wace chose to illustrate the 'courtliness' of a given character."¹⁰ Thus, for example, where qualities associated with noble birth and good breeding appear to be the context in Wace, Laʒamon is more specific in his terminological usage. We are told in Wace that Ebrauc, an early British king, had thirty daughters. The most talkative daughter was Innogin, while "Anor fu la plus corteise" (1567). Laʒamon renders *plus corteise* more specifically as "alre best itowen, hire tuhtlen weren gode" [the best educated of them all, her manners were good] (1360). Later on in the narrative, in describing Arthur's court, Wace states that there was no knight, however nobly born, who could win a *curteise dame a amie* unless he had proved himself "three times in knightly combat" (10,511-10,516). In Laʒamon's version it is "þa wifmen hehʒe iborene", "the women of high birth" who will not take as husband any man unless he has proved his worth in this way (12,307-12,312).

There are many instances where Laʒamon renders the specific courtly quality by an equivalent English usage; the availability and fit of such English terminology, when scrutinized, derives largely from the fact that those values which appear in Wace and Laʒamon and described as courtly have much in common with the qualities ascribed to noble characters in Old English literature. The choice of lexis deriving from the Old English tradition provided the English poet with a means of penetrating the linguistic and conceptual grid of the French text.

An extensive reading of the English *Brut* reveals, however, that the adjective *hende* is often used, either to render specifically, depending on the context, one of the qualities associated with the concept of courtesy, or as an overall term expressing the "courtliness" of a given character. *Hende*

⁹ W. R. J. Barron and Françoise Le Saux, "Two Aspects of Laʒamon's Art", *Arthurian Literature* 9 (1989): 25-56, here 47.

¹⁰ Barron and Le Saux, "Two Aspects," 49.

is used to describe handsomeness of appearance linked to noble birth in the line "Brennes þu ært hende and þu art hæh iboren" [Brenne, you are handsome and you are nobly born] (2452). At the infamous banquet during which Uther takes a fancy to Ygerne, wife of Gorlois, Earl of Cornwall, we are told by Wace that Ygerne is "curteise esteit e bele e sage / e mult esteit de grant parage" (8575-8576); the equivalent in *Lazamon* is the simple phrase "Igærne þere hende" (9249). The sister of Penda, an early Anglo-Saxon king of Mercia, is "mult bele, / gente e curteise damisele" in Wace (14,389-14,390); she is "ane suster hende" in *Lazamon*, who says of her that "nis nan feirure wifmon þa whit sunne scineð on" [the bright sun shines on no lovelier woman] (15,516-15,517).

Military valour, one of the qualities incorporated in the concept of courtesy in Wace, is ascribed to Gerin, the earl of Chartres, and to Beof, the earl of Oxford, "noble men and wise, men of high birth and very dear to the king" (13,094-13,095). Arthur summons them and sends them, together with Gawain, "þas þreo cnihtes hende" [these three valiant knights] (13,101), to demand of the emperor of Rome that he should not lead his forces into France:

Forð þa cnihtes wenden, godliche kempen,
þat weoren Gerin and Beof þe hende and Walwain þe balde,
iburned and ihelmed an hæþen heore steden;
and ælc weiede an sculdre sceld swiðne godne.
(13,113-13,116)

[The knights, brave warriors, set out, the valiant Gerin and Beof and the bold Gawain, in helmet and armour on their tall steeds, each bearing a good shield on his shoulder.]

Gorlois, Earl of Cornwall, is another nobleman in the *Brut* who is admired for his military ability. Where Wace describes him as "mult pruz, mult saives, mult corteis" (8466), *Lazamon's* equivalent description is distributed between several lines. At 9159-9160, Gorlois is "ocht mon fuliwis" [a truly valiant man] and "wel idon" [able]; at 9162 he is a "swiðe wis mon, of all þinge wel idon" [a very shrewd man, skilled in all matters]. A few lines further on, just before Gorlois himself speaks, we are told, in a descriptive summary, that "he wes hende fuliwis" (9171). Gorlois is described once more as "hende cniht fuliwis" at the banquet where his beautiful wife, Ygerne, attracts the notice of King Uther (9246).

It is clear from the narrative context that Laȝamon is using *hende* with the meaning "valiant" in the description of Arthur and his army embarking on a campaign against the emperor of Rome. From many lands "came a hundred thousand valiant (*ohȝe*) warriors" (12,688-12,689), and "from this country Arthur mustered fifty thousand soldiers, men keen and brave (*kene and ohȝe*) in battle" (12,699-12,700). Arthur entrusts to Mordred "all that he possessed, his land and people and his beloved queen" (12,735-12,736), and "seððen he nom his ferde of folken swiðe *hende* / and ferde ful sone touward Sudhamtune" [and then he took his army of most valiant men and straightway marched towards Southampton] (12,737-12,738). In this instance the Otho manuscript also has *hende*, but in two other instances where the context is unhelpful for ascertaining the meaning of *hende*, and Wace is of no help, the Otho manuscript substitutes the adjective *staleworðe*, "brave", for Caligula's *hende* (1903 and 7185).¹¹

That the adjective *hende* serves as a general term which encompasses the accomplishments and modes of behaviour befitting those at court is evidenced most clearly, perhaps, in the description in the *Brut* of Brenne, a pre-Arthurian conqueror of Rome. We are told in Wace that

Brennes parlout cortisement
 Si ert de grant afaitement;
 De bois saveit e de riviere
 E deduz de mainte maniere,
 Gent cors aveit e bel visage;
 Bien semblout home de parage.

(2659-2664)

[Brenne spoke courteously and possessed many skills: he knew about hunting and hawking and all sorts of pastimes. He had a handsome body and a fine face and certainly seemed nobly born.]

Laȝamon renders these lines as follows:

¹¹ In the majority of cases where *hende* occurs in the Caligula manuscript and the equivalent line survives in the Otho manuscript, Otho retains *hende*; see, for example, lines 1570, 1608, 2443, 2452, 9171, 9246, 11,096, 11,098, 12,737, and 14,060.

Brennes wes swiðe hende — his hap wes þe betere.
 Brennes cuðe on hundes, Brennes cuðe an hauekes;
 he cuðe mid his honden hanlie þe harpe.
 Purh his hænde craftes hired-men hine leouede.

(2443-2446)

[Brenne was highly accomplished — that stood him in good stead. Brenne had knowledge of hounds, Brenne had knowledge of hawks; he knew how to play the harp. The courtiers valued him because of his accomplishments.]

In this extract from the *Brut*, *hende* renders Wace's term *corteisement*, but *Laʒamon* has severed the French word's connection with the specific quality of courteous speech and seems to be using *hende* here as a more generalized and defining term for the courtly accomplishments which are then individually listed.¹² A similar generalized usage for *hende* as a term for the appearance and conduct of one defined as truly noble appears earlier in the narrative, in connection with King Lear's daughter, Cordelia. Wace states simply that the French king who sues for Cordelia's hand in marriage has heard that she was much praised (1798-1799); *Laʒamon* expands this brief reference:

Feor haueden liðende men ispeken of þan mæidene
 feiʒernesce and freoscipe atforen þan Frensce kinge,
 of hire mucla fæira wlita, of hire muchela monschipe,
 hu heo wes þolemod, of fæire hire þeæwen,
 þat nes on Leir kinges lond nan wifman al swa hende.

(1566-1570)

[For travellers had spoken of the maiden in the presence of the French king, of her loveliness and nobility of character, of her most fair countenance, her great worthiness, how patient she was,

¹² Rosamund Allen, in her verse translation of the poem, comments of this passage: "The courtly qualities of Wace's Brennes, his ability to hunt, hawk, and perform courtly amusements and speak *corteisement* and his *gent cors* . . . are repeated by Lawman (who adds harping, making Brennes resemble the romance hero Horn very closely indeed); it is significant that Lawman does match Wace's terms for courtliness in his use of *hende* (l. 2443), which I translate 'gifted'." See R. Allen, *Lawman: Brut* (London, 1992), 422.

of her gracious conduct, saying that there was no woman in King Leir's land so truly noble.]

When the French king sues by letter for Cordelia's hand in marriage, he requests Lear to send him "his dohter þe wæs hende" (1608).

An interesting example of the equivalence between *curteise* and *hende* is found in the description of Guinevere, chosen to be Arthur's wife. Wace is fulsome in his praise of her:

Bele esteit e curteise e gent,
E as nobles Romans parente;
...
Mult fu de grant afaitement
E de noble cuntienement,
Mult fu large e buone parliere,
Artur l'ama mult e tint chiere.

(9647-9656)

[She was beautiful, courteous and well-born, of a noble Roman family . . . Her manners were perfect, her behaviour noble, and she talked freely and well. Arthur loved her deeply and held her very dear.]

Likewise, Laȝamon highlights those qualities which make Guinevere suitable to be Arthur's wife:

Heo wes of heȝe cunne of Romanisce monnen;
næs in nane londe maide nan swa hende
of speche and of dede, and of tuhtle swiðe gode
(11,095-11,097)

[She came of a noble Roman family; in no land was there a maid so gracious in speech and behaviour, and so refined in bearing.]

But unlike Wace, who names Guinevere as Arthur's prospective wife before describing her, Laȝamon tells us at first that Arthur "met a maiden of exceeding beauty" in Cornwall (11,090-11,091) whom he then describes as above, following with the revelation that "heo wes ihaten Wenhauer, wifmonne hendest" [the most gracious of women, she was called Guene-

vere] (11,098). In the next two lines we learn that Arthur "took her to wife and loved her very deeply; he wedded this maiden and took her to his bed" (11,099-11,100). The narrative interlude describing Arthur's love for and marriage to Guenevere then concludes with the statement that Arthur was in Cornwall all winter, "and all for love of Guenevere, to him the dearest of women" (11,102).

Hende can be used, thus, as a general term encompassing those virtuous qualities, aspects of appearance and accomplishments, which typify an ideal of courtliness. Arthur's kinsman, Howel, is described as "þene hende, hahst of Brutlonde / wiðuten Arðure, aðelest kingen" [the gracious Howel, the greatest man in Britain save for Arthur, the noblest of kings] (10,896-10,897); clearly the alliteration appealed, since "Howel þe hende, hah mon of Brutene" is repeated at 12,541.¹³ The adjective normally attached to Arthur, expressing his worth as the best of kings, is *aþelest* (which makes for a good alliterative phrase), but there is a variation at 14,060 with "Arður þa cleopede, hendest alre Brutte" [Then Arthur, noblest of all the Britons, called out]. And the same adjective is applied at 15,603 to Osric, the youngest son of the early Anglo-Saxon king, Edwin. We are told that "wellen henden wes þe mon, Osric ihaten" [Osric by name, he was a most noble man] (15,603).

The instances of the adjective *hende* in the *Brut* suggest that it functioned within a grid of meaning similar to that of the terms *corteise*, *cortei-sie*, and *cortisement* in the *Roman de Brut*; the use of the term by *Lazamon* encompassed a discernable range of senses, not all of which conform to the modern concept of courtesy, but which in both the *Roman de Brut* and the *Brut* defined the approved courtly qualities of nobly-born personages. The range of meanings for *hende* includes, specifically, "beautiful", "handsome", "well-bred", "well-spoken", "accomplished", "brave", and "gracious", and embodies overall as a general term an ideal of courtliness, a nobility which is characterized by the presence of such "courteous" qualities.

The *Middle English Dictionary* gives the derivation of *hende* as the Old

¹³ Allen translates the adjective *hende* as "courteous" and then "gracious" in describing Howel, and these are the two meanings she normally gives to *hende* in her translation. Ray Barron and I felt that the translation "courteous" would carry with it more modern connotations than justified by the term in the poem, and so we chose to use "gracious" or "noble" in most contexts.

English adjective *ge-hende* which, according to Bosworth and Toller in their *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, is found in Old English texts with the meaning "neighbouring, next". Laȝamon is clearly using the word with its Old English meaning at the point in the narrative when Hengest and Horsa, Saxon chieftains invited to join the British ruler, Vortigern, draw up their ships on land and set out for Vortigern's hall:

Forð wenden dringches to Vortigerne þan kenge;
 biuoren wende Hengest and Hors him alre hændest,
 seodðen þa Alemainisce men þa aȝele weoren an deden.
 (6972-6974)

[The warriors set out towards King Vortigern; at their head went Hengest and close beside him went Horsa, next went the Germans who were valiant in action.]¹⁴

However, there is one other occasion in the poem where it is likely that Laȝamon is using the word with its Old English meaning; this is much later on, in the post-Arthurian section of the narrative, when we are told that the British king, Cadwallan, has killed all but one of the descendants of King Edwin:

al þat þer wes hende wiðouten ane monne;
 he wes ihaten Oswald, under Drihtene bald.
 (15,617-15,618)

While Ray Barron and I translated the line as "all those who were of noble birth, except for one man", Rosamund Allen translates, perhaps more accurately in this context, "all those who were close relatives, excluding just one", a translation which gives *hende* a meaning nearer to the Old English sense of "being close or next to".

The adjective *an-hende*, "one-handed, lame, imperfect, weak", is cited in Bosworth and Toller, and the meaning "weak militarily" may be appropriate for the sole instance of *unhende* in the *Brut* when the adjective is

¹⁴ The variant Vortiger, for the better-known Vortigern, is the form more commonly found in the *Brut*. In the use of Arthurian names I have kept to the most widely used forms, except when translating from the *Brut*.

being used to describe the type of men who did not dare come to court during the reign of King Malgus, a British successor of Arthur:

And seoððen nom þas riche Malgus þe re3e;
 þat was þe faireste mon wiðuten Adam and Absolon
 swa also þe boc us suggeð þa æuere iboren weore.
 Pes lette his hired dihte al wið ohte cnihten:
 þuhten alle þes sweines swulche heo weoren þeines;
 haueden all his hired-cnafe ælches godes sweines la3e;
 ne durste nauere nan vnhende mon þas kinges hus isechen.
 He biwun þa londes alle þa stoden him an honde;
 þa wes al þas Bruttne afeolled mid blisse.

(14,379-14,387)¹⁵

[And then the mighty Malgus succeeded to the kingdom; he was the handsomest man ever born, except for Adam and Absolon, about whom the Book tells us. He maintained a household of none but the bravest warriors; all the men-at-arms seemed as if they were chieftains; every one of his youthful attendants had the bearing of a good warrior; no ignoble person ever dared cross the king's threshold. He was in possession of all the lands which were rightfully his; at that time the whole land of Britain was filled with contentment.]

Our translation of the adjective here derives from the form *unhende* cited in the *MED* with the meaning "discourteous, impolite, unkind, ignoble"; the earliest date given is c. 1250. It could be argued that in this instance, given the context of the passage, which extols the bravery of the men who served Malgus, those who are designated as ignoble lack military valour.

The approbatory meanings for the adjective *hende* within a secular courtly context are not present in Bosworth and Toller, and the *MED*

¹⁵ What is interesting is the semantic connection between the adjective *hende* and the noun *hond* "hand", a dative form of which in Old English is *hende* (cf. Old Icelandic dat. sg. *hendi*, according to *MED* (*hond*)); it seems clear that the Old English adjective *anhende* "one-handed, weak, lame", derives from this latter form. (In Bosworth and Toller, *Ælfric* has *unimanus* as the Latin equivalent for *anhende*.) Also relevant, it would seem, to the form and meaning of *hende* in the *Brut* is the Bosworth and Toller citation of the Old English adverb, *gehende* "near, at hand", and the noun *handcræft* "skill or power of the hand, handicraft".

cites the *Brut* as the text with the earliest recorded usages. The only existing approbatory sense contemporaneous with the *Brut* is the meaning "gracious, merciful, loving" with reference to God, Christ, or the Virgin Mary, and "virtuous" with reference to men (MED 2(a) and (b)). The difficulty with lexis in early Middle English is the sparsity of evidence, and it is not possible to make a definitive statement about the extent of lexical innovation in Laȝamon's use of the term *hende*, though there is clear evidence for a self-conscious and inventive use of lexis in the *Brut*.¹⁶ What can be commented upon, however, is the frequency with which he employs the adjective *hende* as a native equivalent for those aspects of courtly behaviour understood by the terms *corteis*, *cortisie*, and *cortisement* in Wace. As has been recognized, "with very rare exceptions Laȝamon understood Wace's French perfectly,"¹⁷ and with the English word *hende* he taps into the conceptual framework of the French words, and embeds it in the native idiom.

Laȝamon's *Brut* may be the earliest text cited in the MED for the particular meanings of *hende* which have been discussed above, but the term itself and its range of meanings continues in poetic use throughout the Middle English period, predominantly but not solely in texts classified as romances. Among the better-known Middle English romances which employ the adjective *hende* with one or more of the meanings found in the *Brut* are *King Horn*, *Ywain and Gawain*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and the stanzaic *Morte Arthur*. Throughout *Ywain and Gawain*, a fourteenth-century English adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain, or Le Chevalier au Lion*, the poet uses either *curtayse* or *hende*; they appear along-

¹⁶ The Old English flavour of Laȝamon's diction and the seeming avoidance of French words presupposes, as has been recognized, a deliberate and self-conscious approach to the choice of vocabulary in the *Brut*. And according to Oakden "it is not likely that Laȝamon used 200 compounds (the majority of them poetic) which existed in Old English but were never recorded; it seems certain that Laȝamon created many of them himself" (*Alliterative Poetry*, 2: 132). Derek Brewer discusses Laȝamon's inventiveness in "The Paradox of the Archaic and the Modern in Laȝamon's *Brut*," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Essays Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994; repr. 1998), 188–205. For examples of the conscious utilisation of the lexical resources of early Middle English in the *Brut*, ranging from the very simple to the very complex use of wordplay, see Carole Weinberg, "Pat kine-wurde bed [a bed fit for a king]: Thematic Wordplay in Lawman's *Brut*", *Arthuriana* 8 (1998): 33–45.

¹⁷ Derek Brewer, "The Archaic and the Modern in Laȝamon's *Brut*," 195.

side each other at line 862 and would seem to be synonymous.¹⁸ And last but not least, Chaucer uses the adjective subversively, mocking the courtly pretensions of clerks in the *Miller's Tale*, signalling thus that by the end of the fourteenth century the adjective had become sufficiently stereotypical in literary texts to be used in this parodic manner.¹⁹ By the end of the fifteenth century the adjective has ceased to be used, though the OED does cite occasional, clearly archaic, later occurrences.

Frederic Madden, whose 1847 three-volume edition of the *Brut* marked the beginning of the modern study of the poem, described its language as belonging to that obscure transitional period of "Semi-Saxon", which he dates between 1100 and 1300, but, like many who followed him, he emphasized its adherence to "the spirit and style of the earlier Anglo-Saxon writers."²⁰ There is no denying that *Lazamon's English* has links with Old English: as Roberts has noted, "he is so obviously in contact with the past that the point needs no further labouring."²¹ But her investigation of the terms used by *Lazamon* for military equipment reveals that they "are the everyday words of his time" and "mostly still with us."²² The *Brut* is an important transitional text in the development of Old into Middle English, and there is still much which a study of his vocabulary can tell us about the continuity and differences between these two periods in the history of English lexis.²³

¹⁸ *Ywain and Gawain*, ed. Maldwyn Mills (London, 1992). J. K. Bolland discusses the occurrence of the adjective *hende* in *Ywain and Gawain*, and argues that the theme of courtesy "can be traced throughout the tale, not merely as a theme implicit in the action but as one made explicit by the author's use of vocabulary and the careful balancing of the poem's narrative and thematic structures. See "Hende Wordes: The Theme of Courtesy in *Ywain and Gawain*", *Neophilologus* 78 (1994): 655-70, here 669.

¹⁹ See E. Talbot Donaldson, "Idiom of Popular Poetry in the *Miller's Tale*", in *Speaking of Chaucer* (London, 1970), 13-29.

²⁰ *Lazamon's "Brut"*, ed. by Frederic Madden, 3 vols. (London, 1847), 1: vi, xxiii.

²¹ Roberts, "Lazamon's Plain Words," 107.

²² Roberts, "Lazamon's Plain Words," 113.

²³ I would like to acknowledge the valuable help of Glyn Burgess and Ray Barron in the preparation for publication of this paper, first read at the British Branch of the International Courtly Literature Society Conference in April 1999.

THE EDITING
AND
TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS

PAUL E. SZARMACH

Editions of Alfred: The Wages of Un-influence¹

JUST AS A GOOD EDITION can direct study and the development of knowledge, the absence of good editions can have a chilling effect on a text or a system of texts. This paper will consider the lamentable state of the texts that comprise the Alfredian corpus. Why the output of Alfred (and his circle) is not a major industry within Anglo-Saxon studies, given its strong start about one hundred years ago, may reflect several likely contributing causes, but the central contention here is that the failure of literary scholars to rise to the primary task has seriously blunted any movement towards

A first version of this paper was presented at the 1999 meeting of the Modern Language Association.

¹ For bibliography, mainly in history, see Simon Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon History: A Select Bibliography*, 3rd rev. ed. (Kalamazoo, 1998), esp. 66–70 (items F50–F289), which is available online as <http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/rawl/keynes1/index.html>. Nicole Guenther Discenza has compiled “Alfred the Great: A Bibliography with Special Reference to Literature,” in *Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (New York, 2000), 463–502. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser’s ‘Life of King Alfred’ and Other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983) offers a selection of primary sources in translation. Janet M. Bately provides an important overview in “Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred,” *ASE* 17 (1988): 93–138. For a quick overview of Alfred and Alfredian issues see Janet M. Bately and Janet L. Nelson, “Alfred the Great,” in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal (New York, 1998), 18–22; and B[arbara] A. E. Yorke, “Alfred,” and Nicole Guenther Discenza, “Alfredian Texts,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1999) 27–28, 29–30 respectively.

an understanding of the literary and cultural record of Alfred and his circle. While a review of editions in hand and why they now impede knowledge will be necessary, the more important emphases will be what this state of the question tells us about the ends, purposes, and assumptions of the field. What we read and what we study both leads and follows what we read and study in a reciprocal relationship that, in Alfredian studies, could and should be more fruitful.

It is no quibble to ask at the outset: what is an edition? Thanks to the disappearance in many graduate programs of the bibliography course, the very obvious first answer has to be that the laconic question is imprecise, for there are several kinds of editions, and that the more profitable question might pursue the sub-varieties of the genre and their aims.² To abbreviate the discussion, let me offer a response by example. The edition here envisioned for Alfredian texts as the benchmark is the "full-service" edition. Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf* has served as such for some two full generations since its 1922 publication, until recent attacks that have discovered Klaeber's decisions on textual matters to be faulty and his moves into interpretation patriarchal, or too realistic, or too insensitive, or unprescient (in not anticipating the scholarship of orality).³ The first fault, the textual, is more the accumulation of the weight of commentary; the second fault, the failure of interpretation, literary fashion; the first a more healthy result of the scholarly dialogue inspired by scholarship, the second Klaeber's failure to read the future.

There is — and only recently — only one benchmark or full-service edition of the four, relatively confirmed Alfredian works, and only one further edition that possibly seeks to approach authoritative status, the

² Some sense of the possible variety of editions is apparent in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. D.G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge, 1994), where several contributors directly or indirectly describe various kinds. Among others there are: Marilyn Deegan and Peter Robinson, "The Electronic Edition," 27–37; David N. Dumville, "Editing Old English Texts for Historians and Other Troublemakers," 45–52; Clare A. Lees, "Whose Text is it Anyway? Contexts for Editing Old English Prose," 97–114; Hugh Magennis, "Old English Texts for Student Use," 115–23.

³ Complaints about Klaeber and his edition surface regularly on ANSAXNET, the archive of which one may search for particular points of grievance. See, e.g., Josephine Bloomfield, "Diminished by Kindness: Frederick Klaeber's Rewriting of *Wealththeow*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 93 (1994): 183–203. Robert Bjork, Rob Fulk, and Jack Niles have announced the fourth edition of Klaeber, to be published by Houghton Mifflin.

ASPR edition of the *Metres*, about which more later. Certainly there can be no greater disappointment in the field than the current status of Alfred's *Boethius*. W. J. Sedgefield's edition has celebrated its centenary, as has his translation, which has served as the pony for three generations of Anglo-Saxonists.⁴ It is unseemly to berate the dead and the past, I hasten to interject here, but the fact is that this pioneering pair has been insufficient for quite some time. Sedgefield's translation, inflated in diction by Victorian high seriousness meant undoubtedly to reflect the turn-of-the-century view of Alfred as a philosopher-king, is itself sometimes impenetrable, if not downright inaccurate.⁵ The edition itself poses problems of execution and conception. Though he is working with only two manuscripts, the damaged London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. vi and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 180, and the Junius transcript of Bodley 180 (with notes based on Cotton Otho), Sedgefield's printed text is very busy. The Cotton manuscript is his base presented in Roman font, and when C proves "injured or illegible" Sedgefield prints Bodley in italics. This practice seems easy enough, but it is complicated by the use of brackets and footnotes to supply readings, either to remedy defects or to supplement information, and overlaid with the need to represent the Junius transcript. Sedgefield himself seems uncomfortable with his presentation, for, having gone through an explanation that resembles one of those multiple logical problems (if A then B, but if not A, then C or D or E or some combination but never CD), as if in exasperation he offers, with italics for emphasis: "In short, it may be assumed that *all words in italics are from B, unless otherwise noted in the footnotes.*"⁶ Sedgefield is doing his best to cope with the limited options afforded by the ancient hot type process. In the soon-to-be realized paradise of cyber-editions, where options only dazzle and

⁴ Walter J. Sedgefield, ed., *King Alfred's Version of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford, 1899); Sedgefield offers a translation in his *King Alfred's Version of the Consolations of Boethius Done into Modern English, with an Introduction* (Oxford, 1900). M[alcolm] R. Godden describes the edition as "one of the minor tragedies of Anglo-Saxon literary scholarship" and discusses the problems facing an editor in his "Editing Old English and the Problem of Alfred's *Boethius*," in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. Scragg and Szarmach, 163–76, here 163.

⁵ Malcolm Godden, "King Alfred's *Boethius*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), 419–24, here 423 n. 10: "... free and unreliable in matters of detail."

⁶ Sedgefield, ed., *King Alfred's Version*, xviii.

never confuse, Sedgefield could have solved the busy-ness of his edition in a multi-color presentation or clicks and "pop-ups." Even that fourth witness to Alfred's *Boethius*, that pesky fragmentary leaf from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86 that Napier saw and transcribed but incredibly was "temporarily mislaid," might regain some shadowy life.⁷ Godden has promised an edition "when he has completed the long-delayed volume of commentary for his edition of Ælfric" — which volume is now published.⁸ Technology might have come of age in time to assist Godden in one of the difficulties he anticipates, viz., the illegibility of the Cotton manuscript.⁹

However hard to follow in matters of presentational detail Sedgefield's *Boethius* may be, there is a singular matter of conception that has had a profound effect on the interpretation of the work. Now it is well known that Boethius's *De Consolatione* is a prosimetrical work: a meter or poem (in the Latin aggregate, offering a dazzling metrical variety) is followed by a prose passage. In his mainline text, whose base is Cotton Otho, Sedgefield prints prose only, detaching the *Metres*, which appear in their correct place in Cotton Otho, and placing them after the entire prose *Boethius*, as if they were an Appendix and not an integral part of Cotton Otho.¹⁰ Krapp's ASPR edition self-evidently prints the *Metres* only, while Bill Griffiths, who emphasizes that the meters "were intended to be in place in the OE prose translation,"¹¹ can only, because of evident space limitation,

⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 337, 411–12.

⁸ Godden, "Editing Old English," 172 n. 17. In e-mail communication and subsequent conversation (14–16 November 2000), Malcolm Godden has reiterated his interest in editing the *Boethius*. The reference to the Ælfric commentary is to volume 3 of the "Ælfric project," which appears as Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS s.s. 18 (Oxford, 2000). [Since the writing of this paper, two major scholars have launched funded projects to edit Alfred's *Boethius*: Malcolm Godden, "Alfredian Versions of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy," funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board (U.K.); Kevin Kiernan, "Alfred the Great's *Boethius*: An Electronic Edition," funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (U.S.).]

⁹ See note 12 below for Kevin Kiernan's digital research.

¹⁰ Samuel Fox, *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae* (London, 1864; repr. New York, 1970) offers OE prose and translation *en face*, but thanks Martin Tupper for a poetical translation ("an English free translation"), which he evidently substitutes for his own and places at the end.

¹¹ Bill Griffiths, ed., *Alfred's Metres of Boethius* (Pinner, Middlesex, England, 1991), esp. 11. See P. E. Szarmach, "Meter 20: Context Bereft," *ANQ* 15 (2002): 28–34 [= "Old English Issue: Textual Scholarship," guest ed. J. R. Hall].

offer the *Metres* with the prose base in Bodley 180 at the foot of the page as "prose source." In short, no modern editor observes the manuscript context for this work. Kevin Kiernan, commenting on Sedgefield and Krapp, says sharply that their editions "radically misrepresent the prosimetrical manuscript [= Cotton Otho] that preserved the text" and goes on to describe in detail how the separation came about from the way in which Junius originally set out on his ordinary editorial task and which, in a sense, Rawlinson completed.¹² The contemporary reader-scholar who wishes to get back to the manuscript must, then, de-layer or reverse the editorial process in order to get back to the manuscript. Before too long someone will have to put Alfred's *Boethius* back together again, with the likely result that the interaction of translated *prosa* and translated *metrum* will force a reconsideration of the local relations of these two different sorts of texts. It may also be easier to see a rationale for themes and motifs in the *Metres*, which, to be merely suggestive, seems an almost inevitable future development. Allan A. Metcalfe suggests some potential significance for the reunion of *prosa* with *metrum* in his monograph.¹³

If the "full-service" concept of an edition is germane here, then there may very well be an invitation to madness in any call for a new edition of the *Boethius*. It is doubtless that the context for understanding of Alfred's work is the active Latin commentary tradition. To his credit, Sedgefield makes mention of the commentary tradition and adduces some information from it to the Alfredian translation, especially the list of "Alfred's notable comments and additions" given in his translation, which offers a practical start to the problems.¹⁴ But knowledge in the sub-field of Boethian commentary has now advanced well beyond the material available to scholars at the turn of the century. In fact, the complexity of the material and the enormity of the tradition seem insurmountable obstacles. Joseph Wittig's classic study of the Orpheus and Eurydice story,

¹² Kevin Kiernan, "Alfred the Great's Burnt *Boethius*," in *The Iconic Page in Manuscripts, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle (Ann Arbor, 1998), 7–32, here 7, with developing discussion through 14. As noted above, Kiernan is preparing an electronic edition, which should triumph over the badly burnt Cotton Otho A.vi.

¹³ Allan A. Metcalfe, *Poetic Diction in the Old English Meters of Boethius* (The Hague, 1973). See also idem, "On the Authorship and Originality of the Meters of Boethius," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 71 (1970): 185–86.

¹⁴ Trans. Sedgefield, xxxi–xxxii.

that sometime old chestnut of beginning Old English courses, is exemplary in trotting out the many manuscripts of the commentary tradition, suggesting some of their intricacy, and then arguing that the more information about the commentary tradition we have, the more, at least in this case of the Orpheus and Eurydice story, Alfred appears relatively independent of it.¹⁵ (From another view Wittig may be actually saying that the commentary Alfred followed has not yet been discovered.) When Alfred seems Remigian in his rendition, for example, one has to remember that Alfred died a decade earlier than Remy, and that the usual, hoped for chronological flow of influence is muddled¹⁶ as a result. The Alfredian *Boethius* and its place in the commentary tradition is a necessary, but problematical, element in any future edition.

One does not, however, need to go back a full century for an example of an edition-translation that now does not materially advance Alfredian studies. Thomas A. Carnicelli's 1969 edition of *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies* met with a cool reception when it appeared. However unsatisfactory Carnicelli's introductory language sections might appear to the hardcore philologists who reviewed his work, his introductory overview of sources, authorship, and the interconnections with other Alfredian works seemed useful for his time. Inexplicably, Carnicelli offers no Latin text of Augustine's work either *en face* or in footnotes,¹⁷ though some of his explanatory notes rely very heavily on the Latin tradition, where his commentary can be extensive. The absence of a Latin text for comparison — it presumably would have been the text in *Patrologia Latina* 32 — would seem to be a retrograde move when one recalls that Wilhelm Endter gave that text as part of his 1922 edition for the series *Bibliothek*

¹⁵ Joseph S. Wittig, "King Alfred's Boethius and Its Latin Sources: A Reconsideration," ASE 11 (1981): 157–98. See, for Alfred's *Boethius* within the context of the commentary tradition, P. E. Szarmach, "Alfred's *Boethius* and the Four Cardinal Virtues," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), 223–35; idem, "Alfred, Alcuin, and the Soul," in *Manuscript, Narrative, Lexicon*, ed. Robert Boenig and Kathleen Davis (Lewisburg, PA, 2000), 127–48.

¹⁶ One might compare *Saeculi Noni Auctoris in Boetii Consolationem Philosophiae Commentarius*, ed. E. T. Silk (Rome, 1935).

¹⁷ Thomas A. Carnicelli, ed., *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's 'Soliloquies'* (Cambridge, MA, 1969). Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson, *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1980), #5459 (314) list the reviews.

der angelsächsischen Prosa.¹⁸ What is a further difficulty in the genesis of this edition is that Carnicelli relied on photostats. C. J. E. Ball explains the hazards involved in this procedure for London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv, pointing out that Carnicelli misses two holes that affect one of his readings, can say nothing about rubrication, and runs many risks regarding capitalization and punctuation.¹⁹ What is more difficult to come to terms with is Carnicelli's omission of the prose extract of the *Soliloquies* that occurs in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii. Jost was the first to identify this piece, which antedates Cotton Vitellius A. xv by about a full century, and Ker gives notice of it in his *Catalogue*, but Carnicelli does not seem to know it.²⁰ The Tiberius extract is surely crucial to an understanding of the meaning and an understanding of the mere existence of an Anglo-Saxon translation of one of Augustine's minor, early works, which, as is often observed, seems an unlikely candidate for translation by anybody.²¹ Without going into great detail in working out the relation between the Tiberius extract and the Vitellius version, one can point out one emendation of Vitellius that Tiberius "authorizes." In a direct address to God, the speaker says in Vitellius: "Ðu, se aldsta feder, and ðu wisesta . . ."; where the Latin gives "pater sapientissime et optime" Carnicelli explains "se aldsta" as an adjective used in the sense of "greatest, most eminent."²² Tiberius gives "selesta," not "aldsta," the latter now appearing more likely as some sort of aural-oral mishearing by the scribe. As with Latin scholarship on Boethius, moreover, our colleagues in Augustinian studies have now made progress in elucidating this very elusive text of the early Augustine. There are now critical editions of the text; Gerard Watson has produced a very useful translation and commen-

¹⁸ Wilhelm Endter, ed., *König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustins*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 11 (Hamburg, 1922; repr. Darmstadt, 1964).

¹⁹ C[hristopher] J. E. Ball, review of Carnicelli, ed., *King Alfred's Version*, in *Medium Aevum* 39 (1970): 174-76.

²⁰ Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten 23 (Bern, 1950), 208. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186, 244 notes Jost's discovery.

²¹ See Franz Römer, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band 2.1-2: Grossbritannien und Irland, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 276, 282 (Vienna, 1972), 1: 169-72, 2: 314.

²² Ed. Carnicelli, *King Alfred's Version*, 55 line 24, and discussion, 55 in note to the line.

tary; and Heinrich Stirnimann has produced a study, fruitful for Old English scholarship by hinting that Augustine's prose is rhythmical.²³ How Alfred's work fits into the Augustinian tradition of the *Soliloquies* and reflects it is a chapter of the Alfredian revival as important as a reliable text.²⁴

Alfred's oft-studied and oft-taught "Preface" to the *Cura Pastoralis* rightfully continues to enjoy a reputation as one of the key prose texts in the subject, available in many of the school grammars. Henry Sweet's edition of the entire text of the *Cura Pastoralis* with *en face* translation, based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 and London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. xi, is four generations old. Ingvar Carlson was able to edit only London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. ii. There are six extant manuscripts, of course. There have also been advances in the study of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, notably the edition in the series *Sources Chrétiennes*, and Richard Clement's research with an Anglo-Saxon view, which places Alfred's translation closer to its Latin tradition.²⁵ The early study of Gregory, as in the *Patrologia Latina*, found its ground in continental manuscripts, and so assessments of Alfred's translation skills using early scholarship were often askew.²⁶ Anglo-Saxonists for their part, it seems,

²³ The new editions of Augustine's text are: (1) *Selbstgespräche von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele*, ed. Harald Fuchs with introduction, translation, commentary, and notes by Hans-Peter Müller (Munich and Zurich, 1986); and (2), *Soliloquiorum Libri Duo*, ed. Wolfgang Hörmann, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera* 1.4, CSEL 89 (Vienna, 1986). Gerard Watson offers Latin text, *en face* translation, and commentary in *Saint Augustine: Soliloquies and Immortality of the Soul* (Warminster, 1990). Heinrich Stirnimann, *Gründ und Gründer des Alls* (Freiburg, 1992) studies Augustine's prayer in the *Soliloquies* (1.1.2–6). See Joanne McWilliam, "Soliloquia," in *Augustine Through the Ages*, ed. A. D. Fitzgerald et al. (Grand Rapids, 1999), 806–7.

²⁴ In one of the few studies of the Alfredian *Soliloquies* Milton McC. Gatch observes: "The *Soliloquies* is one of the most-edited OE prose texts, yet it remains intractable"; see his "King Alfred's Version of Augustine's *Soliloquia*: Some Suggestions on its Rationale and Unity," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), 17–45, here 42 n. 29, in which note there is a concise survey of earlier scholarship. See also the literary study by Ruth Waterhouse, "Tone in Alfred's Version of Augustine's *Soliloquies*," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Szarmach, 47–85.

²⁵ Gregory the Great, *Règle Pastorale*, ed. and trans. Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, and Charles Morel, *Sources Chrétiennes* 381–382 (Paris, 1992); Richard W. Clement, "King Alfred and the Latin Manuscripts of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 6 (1985): 1–13.

²⁶ See the dispiriting study by William H. Brown, Jr., "Method and Style in the Old English Pastoral Care," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 68 (1969): 666–84.

will never get beyond Alfred's so-called *Preface* to study one of the basic books of the Middle Ages, which everyone, or at least every bishop, had to read as a sort of administrator's manual. Bruno Judic sketches the diffusion and influence of the *Cura Pastoralis*, especially in Carolingian circles where once again Alcuin, who was influential in the dissemination of Boethius, played a major role.²⁷ But Alfred offers more than a pony or a trot for bishops in this book most needful to know. Again, aesthetics is not the only point to be made, nor is administrative history the only locus of investigation. Close attention to Alfred's *Pastoral Care* reveals Alfred's struggle with the Christian psyche (as Gregory struggled), the construction of the subject, the idea of kingship: but in order for these new topics of investigation to move forward, there needs to be a more complete account of the evidence of the Alfredian text and an openness to its possibilities.

Janet Bately has made the case, once again, and now more or less universally accepted on her authority, that the prose psalms of the Paris Psalter should be included in the Alfredian canon.²⁸ Heretofore the only serviceable edition of this work has been the 1907 one by James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay,²⁹ but at long last a new, full-service edition by Patrick P. O'Neill has been published.³⁰ There are seven major parts: The Manuscript, The Latin Texts, The Prose Psalms, The Edition of Prose Psalms, Commentary, Bibliography, Glossary. Found in the mid-eleventh-century manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824 and based on the Roman version of the Psalter, the Old English translation features threefold and fourfold systems of interpretation. As one might expect in Alfredian translations, there are additions and interpretations drawn from Latin commentaries, with the main source being the commentary of Julian of Eclanum and an epitome thereof, which for the most part are preserved in manuscripts of Irish provenance. O'Neill accepts Alfred as the likely

²⁷ Bruno Judic, in *Règle Pastorale* 1: 88–102.

²⁸ Janet Bately, "Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter," *ASE* 10 (1982): 69–95.

²⁹ James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay, eds., *Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, Being the Prose Portion, or the 'First Fifty' of the so-called Paris Psalter* (Boston, 1907).

³⁰ I am grateful to Prof. O'Neill for his great kindness in providing me with information about his edition (April, 2000) before publication. The complete citation for his edition is: *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. Patrick P. O'Neill, Medieval Academy Books 104 (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

author because of lexical evidence and numerous agreements in contents and expression between the Prose Psalms and the known works of King Alfred. The evident commitment to the intellectual context of the translation, notably the sources from the Latin tradition, and the grounding in manuscript context as well, suggest that the O'Neill edition will be the full-service edition of our time.

Around this "Alfredian" canon of now four works has swirled the issue of Alfredian authorship. Lexical evidence, recurrent themes and images, and comparable contents and concerns, all extant in abundant number, have provided the criteria and the methodology for the linkages between and among these four works. Similar verbal evidence in poetry no longer establishes easy links between poets and their work, thanks to oral-formulaic theory, which stresses common vocabulary in the tradition and traditional verse craft; it has been a long time since anyone has claimed that the Maldon-poet wrote *Beowulf* because the half-line *har hilderinc* occurs in both poems. Does prose participate, in any sense, in a tradition similar to poetry? The Alfredian literary output should, moreover, be a challenge to recent theories on authorship. This challenge should go beyond whether the term "Alfred" signifies the historical figure or a man in his circle or a committee of variable membership, an issue left over from Romantic theories of authorship, and consider the idea of the author-function and whether the Alfredian authorial perplex is an early instance validating post-modern suggestions about authorship or, alternatively, a test of the post-modern conception of it. Contemporary, anti-humanist theories have sought to eliminate the "author" from any centrality in the discussion of literature. Foucault, for example, challenges the construction of the author, which he believes began with Jerome and which, arguably, may be seen to continue in later literature based in Christianity.³¹ The fourfold

³¹ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structural Criticism*, ed. and trans. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, 1979), 141-60; repr. in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York, 1984), 101-20. See also Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *The Rustle of Language*, ed. and trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1986), 49-55, and "From Work to Text," 56-64. Some of Barthes's comments seem very useful to the discussion of medieval literature, among other points his analysis of "I" in the earliest poets. As is readily apparent, a full discussion of Foucault and Barthes is beyond the scope of this essay. Foucault's four criteria are:

(1) if among several books attributed to an author one is inferior to the others, it must be withdrawn from the list of the author's works (the author is therefore

charge against the idea of the author would presumably apply to translation as well — or would it? Foucault seems right when he observes that the “name” of the author becomes a way to classify a work and, broadly speaking, the pursuit of this classification becomes in effect a deflection from the discussion of texts and their relations. This observation needs more analysis relative to “Alfredian,” but let me suggest here that a successful Foucauldian analysis might be the way to rejoin the four works discussed above with the other “Alfredian” translations, such as the *Old English Bede* and the *Old English Orosius*, so as to form a system of texts. Perhaps traditional methodology can do the same for broadly “Alfredian” texts, but Foucault gives the theoretical basis for a way to sidestep the issue of who wrote what. Along with this new view of the authorship question should probably come a new view of the idea of the “text.” Though Anglo-Saxonists have been at the leading edge of the discussion regarding oral literature and written literature, they have not quite pushed the margin in the theory of editing to incorporate notions of the instability of texts or *mouvance*.³² The clash between Christian classics and vernacular texts may be less a clash of Christian versus pagan than between lettered consciousness and unlettered consciousness. Ultimately for textual meth-

defined as a constant level of value); (2) the same should be done if certain texts contradict the doctrine expounded in the author's other works (the author is thus defined as a field of conceptual or theoretical coherence); (3) one must also exclude works that are written in a different style, containing words and expressions not ordinarily found in the writer's production (the author is here conceived as a stylistic unity); (4) finally, passages quoting statements that were made or mentioning events that occurred after the author's death must be regarded as interpolated texts (the author is here seen as a historical figure at the crossroads of a certain number of events).

Mark Vessey suggests that Foucault took these ideas from an article by K. K. Hulley and that in the process he garbled some ideas and cited Jerome's *De uiris illustribus* misleadingly as the source, for Jerome's principles are in a range of works, “notably the preface to Jerome's *Commentary on Philemon*.” See Mark Vessey, “The Forging of Orthodoxy in Latin Christian Literature: A Case Study,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996): 495–513, here 506–9, and esp. nn. 30 and 31; Karl Kelchner Hulley, “Principles of Textual Criticism Known to St. Jerome,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 55 (1944): 87–109. For a consideration of Foucault's “fourfold” interpretation see P. E. Szarmach, “Ælfric Revises: The Lives of Martin and the Idea of the Author,” forthcoming in the E. B. Irving memorial volume, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Mark Amodio.

³² See B. Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, trans. B. Wing (Baltimore and London, 1999).

od, we need not ascertain Alfred's *ipsissima et ultissima verba auctoris*, but rather we may need only to describe the evidence in our editions.

These problems and insufficiencies in the editions of Alfred have led to some serious distortions in the literary and cultural record. Let me suggest major problem areas in the entire subject:

1. The disciplinary divide.

Alfred is History's darling, not Literature's. It is not Victorian excess to see Alfred as a special figure on the horizon of early medieval culture. The preponderance of scholarship on Alfred, however, is on Alfred as a historical figure, not as a man of letters. History has moved along in its understanding of the ninth century, the role of kingship, the continental connections, the internal politics of the House of Wessex, among other research areas. Literary scholars have yielded the turf of study, relying on outdated editions that trap them in repetitious formulations that often prove no longer fruitful. Even when Alfred Smyth challenges historical orthodoxy, his description of Alfredian literature is quite conventional.³³ The disciplinary divide has proven very unhelpful.

2. Alfred as a poet.

Up to the Norman Conquest we know the names of some eight physicians,³⁴ but conventional literary histories name only two poets: Caedmon and Cynewulf. James W. Earl is among the first to make a serious case for Alfred as poet and for the significance of his work, with attendant theoretical implications.³⁵ Perhaps now that formalism is on the run, we can admit Alfred's name to the small number of "names" in the poetic pantheon. Once we let Alfred into the neighborhood (and do not forget that Wulfstan may not be far behind!), so to speak, the conception of what was Anglo-Saxon poetry will have to change and aesthetics will have to make room for cultural meaning. The boundary between verse and prose will become less sharply defined, as suggested above, if the *Metres* of

³³ Alfred P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), esp. 527–66.

³⁴ Stanley Rubin, "The Anglo-Saxon Physician," in *Medicine in Early Medieval England*, ed. Marilyn Deegan and D. G. Scragg (Manchester, 1987; corr. ed. 1989), 8.

³⁵ James W. Earl, *Thinking About "Beowulf"* (Stanford, 1994), 87–99; this section of the book, "King Alfred's Talking Poems," appeared earlier in *Pacific Coast Philology* 24 (1989): 49–61.

Boethius are reunited with the *prosaes*. There are many cultural questions to ask about Alfredian poetry: whether it is aesthetically pleasing as a well-wrought urn or a crisp baked cake or whether he has fallen upon the thorns of life to bleed seem less important issues now than how Alfred's aggressive attitudes towards literacy reflect his political aims. It is perhaps easy to see literacy in the service of public policy and power politics; was poetry the crown jewel in this setting as well?

3. The possibility of speculative thought in ninth-century England.

The standard conception of Alfred is that he was very much a practical man of affairs whose expertise did not finally extend to baking, but rather to statecraft and woodcraft. Yet the heavy philosophical content of his translations and their indebtedness to Christian cultural concepts are apparent. Somewhere and somehow Alfred came to accept the notion that reflection upon great thoughts was a good thing, and he was able to find a place for these reflective possibilities in his royal life. Anglo-Saxonists have never found an easy way to describe Alfred's interest in speculative thought, and a good edition can help pave the way. (Malraux, after all, knew how to use a parachute — or thought he did.) Charlemagne was an early model, to be sure, whose cultural interests would seem to have been within the shadow of Alcuin. Did Alfred organize his cultural responses similarly?

4. The idea of an edition.

In classical studies for some generations now there has been a working model of the enterprise that seems pretty straightforward: establish the text and then begin interpretation. Much like the rule in chess that says "knights before bishops," the rule meets the Cartesian test for the clear and the distinct, but in their textual practice Anglo-Saxonists have only recently shown some measure of reflection. There has actually never been a full-scale *theoretical* discussion of editing in Old English. There have been many discussions of *praxis*. In this age of theory perhaps Anglo-Saxonists should begin with the first question I posed here, at least to clarify their aims and intentions. As other fields of study have also learned, editions do not come unmediated. Some sense of where the discussion on Alfrediana might go can be inferred from Rob Fulk's discussion of editing theory and *Beowulf*.³⁶

³⁶ Rob Fulk, "Textual Criticism," in *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. Robert E. Bjork and

Douglas Bush once said in class that a scholar was very much like a foghorn: a foghorn calls attention to a problem but does nothing to solve it. At first glance it may seem possible to effect a reversal in this customary scholarly role whereby Alfredian literature takes up a more suitable position in the cultural record. By all accounts, old-style formalism is indeed on the run and its privileging of the short poem seems to be no longer in vogue: it is hard to hear a paper on *The Wanderer* at the International Congress at Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo) or at the biennial meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, or at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association. Then, too, the interest in new theory and in cultural studies (note my quiet use of the phrase "cultural record" above) augurs well for a more encompassing view of the files at the *Dictionary of Old English*. And indeed the boom, woof, and tweet of the computer promise editions that will be free, all-inclusive, and easy-to-access. But do not take an option on the New Jerusalem yet. While pieces of the deal are in place, some seem to be missing, and may always be. Too much of theory in Old English tends to be of the *appliqué* variety, whereby what works for the interpretation of twentieth-century or twenty-first-century literature is seen to work for early medieval literature. In this model of interpretation the Middle Ages never offer a "resisting reality" (in Jauss's phrase). The computer is no cure-all, for its pomps and works are almost always oversold. It is still the case that what a manuscript page says or might say has to be a part of what it means, and so the devaluation of old-time philology and its decline do not seem to offer sunny prospects for a new age of editions in Alfrediana. That necessary bridge between the Old English text and the Latin tradition furthermore seems to be crumbling at some major points. Like Micawber and Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr we should, perhaps, press on because something might just turn up. With more focus it would be better, however, to move on towards laying the foundation for the next generation by developing and extending those areas of knowledge that we can, as a field, see now. Let us formulate the issues and the problems. There is no Alfredian Klæber at present or in prospect, and the current structure of scholarship is not likely to support one.

Jack Niles (Lincoln, NE, 1997), 35–54, esp. 48–52, where the consideration of textual criticism, contemporary and outside of Old English studies but perhaps relative to *Beowulf*, may be suggestive.

In the United States, at least, academic practices seem to augur ill for the edition as a career-making genre for the untenured. In many a department and at many a dean's level personnel committee "editing" is viewed as "service." Above the departmental level there may not be any discrimination between the effort to assemble papers in polymer chemistry from last summer's regional symposium and the creation of meaning out of a burnt Cotton manuscript. Such a misreading occurs particularly when a dean or provost comes from the hard sciences. Within a department it has happened that a worthy young editor may see an excellent edition for a prestigious series downgraded in favor of a book applying literary theory to the same or similar material. This "academic-political" dimension of editing takes its practical seat at the table considering the theory of editing. It is another negative that must be recognized.

JANET BATELY

Book Divisions and Chapter Headings in the Translations of the Alfredian Period

OPEN ANY EDITION OF AN Old English prose translation attributed to, or generally associated with, King Alfred,¹ and its overall structure seems clear. First of all,² we normally find a subdivision into books, marked by the use of *incipits* and *explicits*. These sometimes contain an acknowledgment of the Latin source and — just once³ — the name of the translator.

¹ For the Alfredian canon and its associates see Greg Waite, *OE Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign*, *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature* 6 (Oxford, 2000). Editions used are: *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 45, 50 (London, 1871) [PC]; *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Walter John Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899) [Bo]; *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, ed. Thomas A. Carnicelli (Cambridge, MA, 1969) [Solil]; *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. Patrick P. O'Neill (Cambridge, MA, 2001) [Ps]; *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, EETS o.s. 95, 96, 110, 111 (London, 1890–1898), [Be]; *Bischof Wærferths von Worcestre Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht (Leipzig, 1900, Hamburg, 1907; repr. Darmstadt, 1965) [GD]; *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately, EETS s.s. 6 (Oxford, 1980) [Or]. Manuscript sigla are those of the editions and Waite, *Translations*.

² After prefatory materials in prose and verse in PC, GD and Bo, and (prose only) Solil.

³ Solil 97.17.

So, for instance,

Be 92.26-27 Her endað seo æreste boc 7 onginneð seo oðer

Or 83.6-7 7 her endað sio þridde boc 7 onginð seo feorþe

Bo 103.21-22 Her endað nu sio þridde boc Boeties, 7 onginneð sio
fiorde⁴

GD 259.20-23 Her endað seo þridde boc þæs apostolican weres
sancte Gregorius gespræces 7 Petres his deacones, 7 her æfter
onginneþ seo feorðe boc gefrætweðu 7 awritenu mid wislicum
wordum 7 on gespræcum þara ilcena witenra

Solil 83.13-14 (H)er endiað þa blostman þære forman boce. (H)er
onginð seo gadorung þære blostmena þære æfran bec.

Solil 92.13 (H)ær endiað þa blostman þære æfran bec þe we hatað
Soliloquiorum

Apart from *Ps*, where the basic unit is of course the psalm, the only exception is provided by *PC*, though this does name author and title of its source in its prefatory materials.⁵ However, the absence of any division into books in this case is explained, quite simply, by reference to the textual history of that source, the four "*partes*" of modern editions of Gregory's work⁶ not being a feature of the group of Latin manuscripts to which Alfred's exemplar belonged.⁷ Second, we find in the modern editions of all but the *Soliloquies* a further division into numbered sub-sections or "chapters".⁸ Third, and except for *Solil.* and *Ps*, whose openings have been lost, our modern editions include contents lists. Fourth, in the translations of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* and *Dialogues* (Books I and II), and (along with *argumenta* and other material) the psalms, each chapter begins with a heading or *capitul*.⁹

⁴ Sedgefield's edition does not foreground Bo's book-divisions.

⁵ *PC* 7.19 and 9.10.

⁶ Grégoire le Grand, *Règle Pastorale*, ed. Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, and Charles Morel, 2 vols., Sources Chrétiennes 381 (Paris, 1992), 1: 124, "Quadripertita uero disputatione liber iste distinguitur." See also Migne's comment (PL 77. 13-14).

⁷ Richard W. Clement, "King Alfred and the Latin Manuscripts of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 6 (1985), 1-13.

⁸ *Ps*'s numbered divisions are those current at the time.

⁹ See *Ps* 2, heading, "Dæs æfteran sealmes capitul is gecweden psalmus Daid"; *GD*

From this it might seem that for Alfred and his contemporaries there was an established sequence of verbal and numerical, as opposed to purely visual, signposts to assist readers to find their way around lengthy prose texts, a "house-style". But even a cursory glance at the manuscripts on which the editions are based reveals that the impression of conformity is misleading. Agreement does not extend even to the entering and positioning of chapter numbers.¹⁰

I. BOOK AND CHAPTER DIVISIONS

Absence of any agreement in usage among the five surviving manuscripts means that we cannot claim that formal *incipits* and *explicit*s, whether Latin or vernacular, were necessarily present in the archetype of the OE Bede¹¹ — though clear visual indications of the beginning of each new book are the norm, in the shape of enlarged, elaborate and/or coloured initials and of spaces on the page, and the divisions mirror the practice in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which, as Bede himself states (*HE* V.xxiv), he composed *in libris* V. Contemporary chapter numbers are found only in MS Ca and, for Books I and II (though subsequently erased), in MS T. Chapter divisions, otherwise indicated only by visual features, generally correspond to those of Plummer's Latin C-type.¹² However, there are a number of exceptions. So, for instance, in Book I, instead of breaking at *Be* 56.22, where *HE* I.xxv begins, the OE version divides at *Be* 56.25. *Be* III.xiv spans *HE* III.xvi–xx, while *HE* II.xvi has been split in two to form *Be* II.xiii and the greater part of II.xiv. It is hard to find a rationale for a number of these modifications which, significantly, seem to "have gone further in Z, the archetype of C, O and Ca, than [they] had in the manuscripts behind T and B."¹³ However, some may already have been pres-

94. 9 (MS H), "Her endiað þa capitulas þære æftran boce." For *Bo capitul*, "chapter", see below, 158.

¹⁰ A similar absence of conformity is to be found in manuscripts of the Latin texts.

¹¹ For details see Miller's edition and Ker, *Catalogue*. For *incipits* and *explicit*s in contents lists see Miller's edition and Dorothy Whitelock, "The List of Chapter-Headings in the Old English Bede," in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto, 1974), 263–84, here 267.

¹² *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Carolus Plummer (Oxford, 1896), xciii ff.

¹³ See Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings," 272–75, here 270. Possible explanations are

ent in the translator's Latin exemplar, as in the case of Book III.i, which incorporates *HE*'s III.ii in both *Be* and *HE*, MS C;¹⁴ others are associated with the omission of *epistolae*.¹⁵

In manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the only verbal indications of divisions between books are formal headings, with *incipits* and *explicitis*. In the *Libri Septem*, in contrast, Orosius employs what might be called discursive markers, embedded in the text,¹⁶ with the division into *libelli* (*libri* and *volumina*) very clearly signposted there. Of these six links, the OE version retains only two (OH II/III and VI/VII), the remainder having been dropped in the course of modifications by the translator to the content of that part of the text in which they occur. There is no verbal recognition at all in *Or* of OH's divisions at IV/V¹⁷ and V/VI. However, formal vernacular *explicitis* and *incipits* have been supplied for the divisions between Books I and II and (in L only) III and IV,¹⁸ while the division at OH VI/VII (*Or* V/VI) combines the discursive and the formal.¹⁹ It is this last that is of greatest interest. For though neither L nor C marks any division between OH Books V and VI, and, as we shall see, chapter numbering is continuous at this point, leading modern editors to treat Orosius's Book VII as a final book, *Or* Book VI, MS L introduces this new Book 6 with the words "[Nu] ic wille, cwæð Orosius, on foreweardre þisse seofepan bec gerecccean . . ."²⁰ Campbell considers this to be an error by the translator.²¹ However, it must be remembered that this discursive book marker, like that linking Books II and III²² is a rendering of a pas-

failure in a Latin or OE exemplar to begin a new chapter on a new line, or misapplication or misinterpretation of an enlarged letter within a chapter.

¹⁴ See *HE*, ed. Plummer, 128, n. 6.

¹⁵ See, e.g., *Be* II.ix.

¹⁶ A number of MSS also have formal *explicitis* and *incipits* as well as impressive opening initials.

¹⁷ For C's contents-list at this point see below, 161. Both manuscripts signal the new book visually.

¹⁸ MS C reads instead "incipit liber quartus". It is also exceptional in its inclusion of a vernacular *incipit*, naming the work at the beginning of the text.

¹⁹ In MS L the formal links I/II, III/IV and OH VI/VII (*Or* V/VI) are in smaller script with some differences of aspect and spelling from their surroundings. For the spelling *nd* for *nd* (*endað*, *enþað*) cf. Psalter Gloss E (Harley) 60 3 *ende*.

²⁰ *Or* 132.24–25. See also *Or* 132.22–23, "Her en[d]aþ sio sixte boc, 7 ongind seo siofode."

²¹ *The Tollemache Orosius* (British Museum Additional Manuscript 47967), ed. Alistair Campbell, EEMF, 3 (Copenhagen, 1953), 15. MS C has the numerals *v*, *vi* and *vi*.

²² OH II.xix.16, "Et quoniam uber dicendi materia est, quae nequaquam hoc conclu-

sage in the Latin original, composed in the first person, and is not necessarily intended to relate to the structure of the OE text.²³ And we should in any case hesitate before concluding that the author himself had taken an editorial decision to modify the overall shape of his source. At the point where *OH* V begins, a large section of the Latin on either side of the divide has been left unrendered in the OE version, which leaps from *OH* V.xix.9 to VI.ii.1, via just ten lines of (printed) text. That no new book is signalled here may be either because the translator, cutting and paraphrasing ruthlessly, has forgotten (or is unaware) that he has left the previous one — the subject of the Mithridatic wars after all also spans *OH*'s divide —, or perhaps quite simply because on this particular occasion, not translating the material at the transition point, he has no reason to report what 'Orosius said',²⁴ or to note that in *OH* a new book has begun.

Certainly in the two surviving manuscripts,²⁵ chapter numbering supports a six-, not a seven-book work. But what weight we should place on the evidence of *Or*'s chapter-divisions must depend on our view of who was responsible for these and at what stage in transmission.²⁶ And it must be noted that there is virtually no correlation between *Or*'s sectionalization and that of Zangemeister's edition or indeed of those Latin manuscripts closest to *Or*. In the Old English the determining factor appears to be the presence or absence of the formulaic "*Ær þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wære*", and "*Æfter þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs*", and the possibility cannot be ruled out that whoever was responsible for *Or*'s chapter numbering relied on this and a handful of similar contexts for his sel-

di libro potest, hic praesentis uoluminis finis sit, ut in subsequentibus cetera persequamur." See *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, ed. by Carolus Zangemeister (Leipzig, 1889) [OH]; *Or* 53.4–6, "Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius, nu ic longe spell hæbbe to secgenne, þæt ic hie on þisse bec geendian mæge. Ac ic oþere anginnan sceal."

²³ Based on *OH* VI.xxii.9–11, "Quamobrem . . . hunc quoque sextum libellum hoc fine concluderim: ut germinantia tempora Christiana . . . septimo libello . . . comprehendam".

²⁴ The division should have come at *Or* 125.14.

²⁵ The fragment, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. Hist. e. 49 has chapter numbering but does not cover the part in question.

²⁶ In MS L chapter numbers are initially entered in the middle of an otherwise blank line between chapters; subsequently they are located in the left-hand margin of the first line of a new chapter. In MS C numbering (from III.iii) is normally entered at the end of the last line of the previous chapter. A marginal number for I.xiii, unmentioned by Ker, *Catalogue*, is probably not in the hand of the text. Ker also fails to note an original number ii in the list of contents.

ection,²⁷ rather than on an authorial decision made at the time of translation. This can be no more than conjecture. However, it is perhaps worth noting one interesting feature that both links and separates the two manuscripts. In the middle of Or IV.iv MS L has a new paragraph, opened by an extra-large decorated 'N' offset in the margin, in identical size and appearance to the initial letters A or Æ that open the numbered sections (88.14 "Nu we sculon fon, cwæð Orosius . . ."). MS C at this point has both this and, exceptionally, the heading *be cartaima gewinne*.²⁸ Neither is accompanied by a chapter number.

In the *Dialogues*, in contrast, there are regular verbal links between books, with a variety of *explicit*s and *incipit*s in Latin and English,²⁹ and a set of figurative openings, as GD 94.12–15, "Her yrnð up se æftra stream þære godcundan spræce, se cymð of þære rynelan þæs gastlican æs-prynges."³⁰ However, there is a major difference between the practice of the "original" text of MSS C and O and that in the revised version in MS H with respect to a further subdivision into chapters, reflecting the different (Latin) manuscript traditions behind them. So, as Yerkes observes, MS C (which like O normally lacks chapter numbering) "has the illuminated numbers *IIII* and *VIII* at the places in Book I appropriate for the [original] twelve-chapter division [of the *Dialogi* Book I]", though "O's syntax bridges the former chapter break . . . and elsewhere the syntax of both C and O does so."³¹ MS H, in contrast, sets out Book I in thirty-four (originally unnumbered) sections, reflecting the divisions in the group of Latin MSS closest to that used by the reviser.³²

²⁷ See Or II.ii (with dating from the fall of Troy), II.iv and IV.v (both beginning *Æfter þæm*), and the book-openings Or II.i and V.i (*lc*), and VI.i (*Nu ic*).

²⁸ Sub-headings of this sort are a feature of a number of manuscripts of OH.

²⁹ For full details see Hecht's edition.

³⁰ Simeon Potter, "On the Relation of the Old English Bede to Werferth's Gregory and to Alfred's Translations," in *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk*, ed. I. Roč (Prague, 1930; separately printed, 1931), 7, appears to assume that these passages are embellishments by the translator. However, they could be based on headings in the lost Latin exemplar.

³¹ David Yerkes, *The Two Versions of Waerferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues: An Old English Thesaurus* (Toronto, 1979), xix. In MS O text is entered continuously for Books I and II, but in paragraphs for Books III and IV.

³² These have thirty-five chapter-headings. See David Yerkes, "The Chapter Titles for Book I of Gregory's *Dialogues*," *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979): 178–82, and idem, "The Translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* and its Revision," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), 335–43, here 341.

In the case of the *Pastoral Care*, which, as we have seen, is the exception in not containing divisions into books, chapter numbering is again not universal. So, for instance, individual chapters in the text are unnumbered in MS U, but H labels them I to LXV as in the "first recension" of the Latin text.³³ However, the very clear and logical compartmentalism that is a feature of Gregory's work and the relative fidelity of the translation to its source have combined to ensure that divisions between sections are neither blurred nor removed.

A more complicated situation obtains in the two surviving versions of Alfred's Boethius. Both indicate a division into five books, as in Boethius's Latin. However, only two of these book markers coincide with a chapter division in the Old English version as found in MS B.³⁴ The change-over from Book IV to Book V occurs part-way through chapter xl, while the marker for Books I/II (confined to MS C, where it perhaps significantly occurs at the bottom of a recto) falls more than half-way through chap. xvi (Sedgefield 38/5-6) and interrupts an otherwise coherent argument. Moreover it also comes at a point where Alfred is translating a section of the Latin text, which, far from ending CPh Book I, is actually located well into II.pr.6. It seems likely that its incorrect position is the work of an incompetent scribe, seeking to make good a perceived deficiency. At the same time the first book marker to be found in both manuscripts, that between Books II and III, is unusually full of information of a kind which, today at least, we might not have expected to find part-way through a translation of this type and content:

(Bo 50.5-7) Her endað nu seo æftre froferboc Boeties 7 onginð sio
 þridde. Se Boetius wæs oðre naman haten Seuerinus; se wæs here-
 toga Romana.

The statement that Boethius was a Roman *heretoga* had of course been made already in the opening chapter, as an explanation of the term *consul*. The detail that his second name was Severinus occurs nowhere else in the text. However, we may compare CPh's book *explicit*s and *incipit*s beginning

³³ See Judic, ed., *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 114-23.

³⁴ See Bo 50.5-6 and 103.21-22.

"Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii . . . exconsulis ordinarii atque patricii philosophiae consolationis liber."³⁵

At the same time a reference to *capitulan*³⁶ in the text of both manuscripts seems to indicate that sectionalization was part of the original design of *Bo*. However, whether or not these "chapters" were numbered in the master-copy, and what their intended parameters were, must be a matter for speculation. In MS C, with its mixture of prose and verse, there is no division into numbered chapters, but each of the verse meters opens on a new line, with a large space left for an initial capital that was never entered. The arrangement then is quite simply that of the Latin, with its alternation of verse and prose grouped in five books (though the *explicit/incipit* for Bks. I/II is, as we have seen, misplaced).³⁷ In the all-prose MS B, in contrast, the text is divided into forty-two chapters, usually identified by Roman numerals entered after the last word of the preceding chapter and on the same line. The first chapter gives an account of the background to the work. Of the remaining forty-one chapters only sixteen (approximately 39 percent) correspond exactly to either *proses* or *meters* in the Latin. Another seven (chaps. xvi, xxvi, and xxix-xxxiii) reduce to a single entry material from a Latin prose and its accompanying meter, while two (xxxvii and xxxviii) combine a meter and the following prose. Six more result from the opposite practice, the splitting in two of a Latin prose (the cluster chaps. ix/x, xiii/xiv, and xvii/xviii). The remaining ten chapters between them contain material from no fewer than thirty five *proses* and *meters* in the Latin and, with one exception, are the result of amalgamation — usually of three or more items in the Latin,³⁸ with a significant concentration at the end of the work. Bolton, observing that there is "no consistent structural relationship to [the Latin] source", explains this

³⁵ *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, ed. Ludovicus Bieler, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 94 (Turnhout, 1957), 35 [CPh].

³⁶ *Bo* 73. 14–15, "on ðæm ende pisses capitulan"; CPh III.8.12, in *summam*.

³⁷ Godden, in an important article on the Boethius, calculates that the now fire-damaged text was originally "divided up into some sixty-three sections": see M. R. Godden, "Editing Old English and the Problem of Alfred's Boethius," in *Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. D. G. Scragg and P. E. Szarmach (Woodbridge, 1994), 163–76, here 166.

³⁸ See, e.g., chap. xxxv. The exception is chap. viii, formed from the second part of CPh II.pr.3, the first part of which is incorporated, along with *proses* 1 and 2 and *meter* 2, in chap. vii.

in terms of "literary strategy": "Alfred's greatest alteration was the recasting of Boethius' five books and many proses and meters into forty-two chapters and sections of prose ... Alfred's version dispenses with the original highly literary form in favor of a pedagogical form, a preface and a set of 'lessons'."³⁹ Constraints of space prevent a detailed response here. However, it should be noted that Sedgefield's edition, with its numbered chapter divisions and paragraphing, ignoring the change-of-book markers, by no means provides either an accurate or a fair representation of the layout of MS B from which he supposedly takes them.⁴⁰ I find no reason to suppose that either the number of chapter divisions, or the location of the chapter numbers (only irregularly entered in the MS),⁴¹ necessarily reflects a decision by Alfred himself. Linguistically the text itself is very carefully signposted, with, as we have seen, *explicit*s and *incipit*s for all but the first book division, and with Boethius's meters normally clearly identified in both manuscripts by introductory and closing verbal markers of the type "Ða se Wisdom þa ðis spell asæd hæfde, þa ongan he giddigan 7 þus singende cwæð ..." (Bo 48.21–22) and "Ða se Wisdom þa þis leoð asungen hæfde, ða ..." (Bo 47.3), the great majority without precedent in the Latin. (A handful of modifications [disruptions?] of Boethius's structure as recorded in MS B are the result of omission of these verbal markers⁴² by the translator.) This signposting is reinforced visually in MS B by the use of enlarged coloured capitals, or of spaces left for such capitals, along with marginal guide-letters for a rubricator and entry on a new line, dividing up the work more clearly and logically than does the numbering,⁴³ and demonstrating that the scribe of the text recognized the (identifiable) meters as separate entities. As for the book *explicit*s/*incipit*s, these are

³⁹ W. F. Bolton, "How Boethian is Alfred's *Boethius*?", in *Studies*, ed Szarmach, 153–68, here 153, 158.

⁴⁰ For warnings about Sedgefield's text see Godden, "Editing," 169.

⁴¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, 359, cautiously comments that the chapters are "usually numbered in the ink of the text." Some in fact may well be later additions, as chapter number 35, which I would suggest is in the hand of Junius, a transcriber of the manuscript. Others (as, e.g., chaps. iv–vii) remain unnumbered.

⁴² So, e.g., CPH 1.m.6 (Bo 12.7–11), and (with omission only of the closing tag), see, e.g., Bo 116.34. For the omission of an entire meter, see chap. vii.

⁴³ The decision whether or not to allocate a new chapter to a "song" seems to be entirely a matter of whim. Moreover, the introductory formulae sometimes precede the chapter division and sometimes follow it: see, e.g., chaps. ii, iv, xxxix, xli, beside chaps. ix, xii, xv, etc.

carefully highlighted by an enlarged opening initial or large space and guide-letter. In the case of Books II/III, MS B's chapter number xxii, printed by Sedgefield after the *explicit/incipit*, in fact precedes it.⁴⁴

In addition to identifying shifts to and from meters and book divisions, the enlarged and coloured initials (or spaces left for them) also on a number of occasions signal a major change of speaker. Most, but not all, of these are accompanied by a new chapter number. So, for instance, chapters xvii and xviii have been formed from CPh II.pr.7, the break coming immediately after an important addition by Alfred on his needs as a king and being signalled in the manuscript by a gap sufficient for a two-line initial letter, followed by an enlarged red E, opening the ensuing dialogue.⁴⁵ Chapters x and xi (unnumbered in the manuscript) have similarly been formed from CPh II.pr.4, with the break at a change of speaker, marked by an enlarged and coloured initial on a new line. However, a change of speaker only a few lines earlier is also similarly signalled, though Sedgefield does not even afford it a new paragraph.⁴⁶ We may compare chap. viii, which opens with a speech by Mod and a marginal number of doubtful authenticity. In this case the translation of CPh II.pr.3 had in fact begun a paragraph earlier, without highlighting and containing no change of speaker.

Cumulatively these features seem to indicate that chapter numbers were inserted after completion of the translation, in an ancestor of MS B,⁴⁷ by someone who was not especially scrupulous in observing verbal markers for proses and meters — possibly of course using a manuscript in which a rubricator had either not yet been at work or not yet completed his task — and looking, not particularly carefully, for verbal indications of a major change of speaker.

⁴⁴ Carelessness by the scribe of a manuscript behind MS B in entering chapter numbers or inconsistencies in the distribution of enlarged and coloured initials is perhaps the best explanation for the varied placing of the location of the "began to sing" tag, sometimes at the end of the preceding section, sometimes as part of the new one.

⁴⁵ Significantly, as Godden notes ("Editing," 166), MS C has a "slightly enlarged capital within the manuscript line . . . at the point where chapter xviii begins, suggesting that the Cotton arrangement goes back ultimately to a copy containing something like the Bodley manuscript's organization."

⁴⁶ See also, e.g., chaps. xxii and xxvi.

⁴⁷ Unlike MS B, this manuscript presumably contained a full set of numbers and perhaps a numbered contents list.

However, any discussion of the relative status of the chapter divisions must also take into account the status of the list of contents that opens the manuscript.

II. CONTENTS LISTS AND CHAPTER HEADINGS

Lists of contents, as we have seen, are to be found in all the texts in our survey apart from the two whose openings have been lost, while the two translations of the works of Gregory also contain headings to individual chapters. In the case of the *Pastoral Care*, Alfred is at first sight once more faithfully following his Latin source. However, chapter headings are actually absent from the oldest surviving Latin manuscript,⁴⁸ while that those in PC, MS H, are almost letter-for-letter duplicates of the entries in the contents lists suggests a single act of translation for the Old English.⁴⁹ Not unusually for rubricated material, these headings in H were entered (in red ink) after the text had been written, in gaps between the end of one chapter and the beginning of the next. There is often no correlation between the amount of space needed and that provided. However, extensive and complex space-saving involving both text and headings may indicate the presence of the latter already in H's exemplar.

Also problematic is the relative chronology of the translation of text and contents list/chapter headings and the possible role of Alfred's amanuenses in preparing "apparatus". In the standard Latin text the contents list and headings for the series of admonitions, chaps. xxiv–lix, agree virtually word-for-word with a summary that forms the second part of chap. xxiii (Part III, chap. i in modern editions). At the same time each entry duplicates the opening sentence of the chapter to which it refers. In PC, in contrast, there are some substantial differences of wording between the translations in each case provided, with important implications for our understanding of the history of, and background to, the translation. So, for example,

⁴⁸ See Judic, ed., *Règle Pastorale*, 1: 128, note. Clement, "King Alfred," 8 notes that among the Latin manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon provenance, F is "unusual" in having both a table and (for Bk. III only) chapter rubrics.

⁴⁹ See below, 162.

CP (*contents list, heading, summary and text*) xlviii: [Quod]⁵⁰ aliter ammonendi sunt qui cum praedicare digne ualeant, prae nimia humilitate formidant; [atque]⁵¹ aliter [ammonendi sunt]⁵² quos a praedicatione imperfectio uel aetas prohibet, et tamen praecipitatio impellit (CP 120. 4-7; 264.3-6; 428.1-4 and 5-8).⁵³

PC (*contents list and heading*) xlviii: Dætte on oðre wisan sint to monianne ða ðe medomlice cunnon læran, & ðeah for miclum ege & for micelre eaðmodnesse forwandiað; & on oðre wisan ða ðe ðanne giet to ðæm gewintrede ne beoð ne geðigene, & ðeah for hrædhýdnesse beoð to gegripene (PC 19.7-11 and, with minor spelling variants, PC 375.12-16).

PC (*summary*) xxiii: ond on oðre wisan ða ðe fullfremede ne beoð nohwæder ne on ieldo ne on wisdom, & ðeah for hrædwilnesse to foð, & on oðre wisan ða ðe medomlice & wel magon læran, & him ðeah ondrædað for eaðmodnesse, ðæt hie hit forðy forlætað (PC 177.14-17).

PC (*text*) xlviii: On oðre wisan sint to maniane ða ðe medomlice læran magon, & ðeah for micelre eaðmodnesse him ondrædað; on oðre ða ða ðe unmedome bioð to ðære lare oððe for gioguðe oððe for unwisdom, & ðeah for hire fortruwodnesse & for hira hrædwilnesse beoð to gescofene (PC 375.17-21).

Full discussion of these and the attitudes to translation that they display must be reserved for a later occasion. However, it should be noted in the context of this paper that the most satisfactory explanation of agreements and disagreements is that contents list and chapter headings, if they coexisted in Alfred's Latin exemplar, were not separately translated; that differences between chapter headings and text seem to indicate that these were not translated on one and the same occasion; and that the chapter headings were drawn from the contents list.⁵⁴ It is tempting to explain this difference as the result of delegation by the king.

⁵⁰ Contents list and heading only.

⁵¹ Summary omits.

⁵² Text only.

⁵³ The text begins with *Aliter*.

⁵⁴ Cf. MS CC with chapter heading xv a duplicate of chapter heading v.

In the case of the *Dialogues*, in contrast, there is no evidence at all that the original translation included either a list of contents or chapter headings. What we have in our modern edition is taken from the now defective revised version of Books I and II that makes up MS H⁵⁵ and, like the text that it accompanies, reflects a different Latin tradition from that behind the "original" version. Only minor verbal differences separate lists and headings.

In the case of the Old English Bede, Latin contents lists are again the source of those entered in two of the surviving Old English MSS, though with some modification.⁵⁶ MS Ca has a list of *capitula*, separately numbered for each of the five books. In MS B, in contrast, numbering is consecutive in a single series,⁵⁷ though, as in Ca, the sequences are broken up by vernacular *explicit*s and *incipit*s that mark the endings and beginnings of the headings for each book. And once again the relative chronology of the translation of the Old English contents list and the body of the text has come under close scrutiny from modern scholars. Dorothy Whitelock's view was that this list may have been made, or at least begun, before the translator had decided what material in his Latin source to omit. "He may then have entrusted the task of adding the list to his translation of the rest to a pupil or colleague."⁵⁸ However, a different interpretation is given by R. J. Grant:

One cannot assume that this table of chapters goes back to the archetype, for the list could have been added at a later stage into the B and Ca texts or their predecessors. . . . The most likely theory is that the table of contents now in B was added to it from a text at least one stage earlier than the common exemplar of C and Ca, since B contains some better readings. A possible implication of this is that the list of chapter headings was made from a faulty

⁵⁵ Each book is prefixed by its contents list.

⁵⁶ See Dorothy Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings," 263–84, esp. 272–75. Whitelock also gives variants from a now lost list in MS C.

⁵⁷ See further Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings," 265–66. For the omission of headings for Bk. III chaps. 17–20 see Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings," *passim*.

⁵⁸ Whitelock, "Chapter-Headings," 277.

copy and then added to a perfect one in a scriptorium in which more than one OE Bede text was being prepared.⁵⁹

The theories of neither Whitelock nor Grant are wholly convincing. However, they serve very well to highlight the significant fact that we cannot be sure at precisely what point in the development of the text as we have it the contents list was drawn up or at what point it achieved its current form. No less problematic is the original position of that contents list. In B it is located before Bede's preface, in Ca after it. However, in some Latin MSS each book has its own set of *capitula*, placed immediately before it, and we cannot rule out the possibility that an arrangement of this sort was to be found in the translator's exemplar. As for authorship, it should be noted that the bulk of the vocabulary of the contents list is that of not only the Bede but also other texts of the period, notably the *Dialogues* and the *Pastoral Care*. At the same time, there is a handful of terms not found elsewhere in the Old English Bede.⁶⁰ Some of these are *hapax legomena*, translating Latin terms in *capitula* for entries not represented in the body of the translation. However, others are for Latin terms which are differently rendered there and might be considered to provide some support for a theory of translation by another individual.

A very different situation obtains with respect to the list — or rather lists — of contents in the Old English Orosius. Here the two manuscripts are generally in agreement, though the later, Cotton, MS repeats the *capitula* for Books V and VI at the appropriate points in the text.⁶¹ However, whereas the Old English Bede, like GD, MS H, was making use of Latin *capitula*, the list in the Old English Orosius is quite clearly derived — not very intelligently — from its accompanying text. So, for instance, the contents not only normally pick on opening words of a chapter, but also where they add details from later in that chapter this is often done in a haphazard fashion. And the selection is sometimes unhelpful, sometimes downright misleading, with, for instance, entries locating events “under ii

⁵⁹ Raymond J. S. Grant, *The B Text of the Old English Bede: A Linguistic Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1989), 399–400.

⁶⁰ See Whitelock, “Chapter-Headings,” 275–77. She concludes, however, that the translator of the list was probably also the translator of the rest of the work.

⁶¹ See further Bately, *Old English Orosius*, xxxvii.

consulum" or referring to the birth of *an cild* (i.e., Siamese twins),⁶² while in contents list V.xii we are told that the Romans gave "*Gaiuse þæm consule*" seven legions and that "*Iulius*" besieged Torquatus and fought Pompey three times (the text itself, 126–27, makes it clear that Gaius and Iulius are one and the same individual, Julius Caesar, referring to him first as *Gaiuse Iuliuſe*, then as *Iulius*).

In the Boethius, too, the fit between the all-prose version's contents list and text is at times uncomfortable.⁶³ Some composite chapters are represented by only a few words and phrases drawn from their opening passages, while for others the reasons for selection of sub-entries is often unclear. We may compare Sedgefield's summary of the contents of chap. vii with the corresponding entry in the list:

Sedgefield: Philosophy tells Boethius that what he once accounted happiness was not really such; that he is not the first to suffer a reverse of fortune; that worldly joys are deceitful. Fortune changes, and men must also change with her. Boethius owes his misfortune to his desire for worldly happiness.⁶⁴

Bo Hu se Wisdom sæde þam Mode þæt him naht swiðor nære þonne hit forloren hæfde þa woruldsælða þe hit ær to gewunod hæfde; 7 sæde him bispell hu he hit macian sceolde gif he heora þegen beon sceolde; 7 be þæs scipes segle, 7 hu his godena weorca ealra wolde her on worulde habban lean.⁶⁵

⁶² Cf. *Or* III.x and xi and V.ii.

⁶³ I find Otten's justification of the selection of details in, and his arguments for Alfredian authorship of, the contents list unconvincing. See Kurt Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, neue Folge, 3 (Tübingen, 1964), 11–13; and Griffiths, *Alfred's Metres*, 15 n. 17: "in general the Old English chapter-headings are brief and uninformed, often being no more than a catch-phrase from the Old English text of that chapter, and may therefore have little textual authority."

⁶⁴ Walter John Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Version of the Consolations of Boethius, done into modern English, with an introduction* (Oxford, 1900), liii.

⁶⁵ *Bo* 3.12–16. Cf. *Bo* 15.1–2, 16.3 and 22, 16.29, 18.24–25. None of these entries begins a new paragraph in the text, and material from *CPh* II.m.2 and pr.3 (opening), which also forms part of the chapter, is not covered.

This, coupled with the fact that no similar list is provided in the manuscript that supplies a verse rendering of CPh's meters, makes it once again tempting to see the list as made up by someone other than Alfred himself.⁶⁶ In which case, its presence in MS B cannot be taken as supporting a theory of an authorial sectionalization of the text into forty-two chapters, while the book divisions may be accepted as having far greater structural importance than Sedgefield in his edition affords them. Alfred himself may have chosen to report Boethius's *explicit*s and *incipit*s (apart apparently from the first pair) in the course of his translation, as the author of *Or* did with those of *OH*; or he could have delegated the task to a collaborator. The prominence afforded to the chapter numbering and (un-numbered) contents list by Sedgefield in his edition serves merely to obscure the fact that Alfred himself seems to have composed a work whose structure, like that of *PC*, follows fairly faithfully that of Boethius himself.

What general conclusions, if any, may we draw from this study of book divisions and chapter headings in texts of the Alfredian period? First, that not all the book and chapter divisions in our modern editions would appear to be authorial, or even the work of the main scribe of individual manuscripts. Second, that the scribes themselves often seem to have attached little or no importance to the need for such divisions. Third, that contents lists are clearly of varying quality and authority. In short, that although we may think we can reconstruct the "original" layout of Alfredian translations, this cannot be done with any great degree of certainty.

⁶⁶ I shall be dealing with the issue of lexical differences elsewhere.

† PHILLIP PULSIANO

The Passion of Saint Christopher

"THE PASSION OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER" comprises folios 94r-98r in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv (the *Beowulf* codex). The text is acephalous, beginning at the exchange between the saint and Dagnus that subsequently leads to Christopher's martyrdom. The text that has come down to us represents perhaps a third of the original text, estimated on the basis of the Latin text printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*,¹ with which the Vitellius text agrees in the main, although this version cannot be said to constitute the source for the Old English text. Another copy of the text was included in London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, a manuscript that suffered much damage in the Cottonian fire of 1731. The evidence, as Ker notes,² is provided by Wanley in his 1705 catalogue, where the explicit he records for a homily "De Sancto Christophore Martyre" corresponds to the ending of the Vitellius text, lines 113-116: "Forþam þe þær nu blowað 7 growað his ða halgan gebedu and þær is drihtnes herung mid eallre sibbe 7 gefean and þær is gebletsod crist þæs lifiendan godes sunu se rixað mid fæder 7 mid sunu 7 mid þam halgan gaste a butan ende on ecnyse. Amen."³ The homily apparently did not include Christopher's

¹ AASS Iul. VI (1868): 146-49. The Old English corresponds to the Latin text beginning at p. 148 at the bottom of the first column. The version printed here is BHL 1766.

² Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 177, art. 11.

³ Humfrey Wanley, *Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium Catalogus* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1705), 191, item X.

final petition that those who read his passion receive eternal reward. The beginning of the homily agrees with the Latin of the *Acta Sanctorum* version, but quickly departs from it:

Menn þa le[ofstan. on þære
tide wæs geworden þe Dagnus
se cync rixode on Samon þære
ceastre. þæt sum man com on
þa ceastre se wæs healf hun-
disces manncynnes. ac he ne
cuðe nan þinge to þam lyfien-
dan gode ne his naman ne
cigde. þa wæs him ætywed
fram urum drihtne þæt he
sceolde fulluhte onfon].

*In tempore illo, regnante Dagno
in civitate Samo, homo venit
de insula, genere Canineo-
rum, et ostensum est ei a Do-
mino, ut baptizaretur bap-
tismo sancto; quem ostendit
Dominus Jesus Christus in
seculo sua . . . ecce nebula de
cælo descendit, et inluxit su-
per eum: et venit ei vox de
cælo, dicens: Serve electe
Dei: ecce accepisti baptismum
in nomine Domini et sanctæ
Trinitatis.*

Ker suggested that the version in the Vitellius manuscript seemed more closely related to BHL 1768 or 1769 than to the text of the *Acta Sanctorum*, BHL 1766.⁴ Both BHL 1768 and 1769 remain unprinted, but the record of the explicit to BHL 1769 made by the Bollandists suggests that attention might be accorded to this version, for it includes the final prayer uttered by Christopher that is omitted from the homily: "Domine Deus omnipotens, bonam mercedem præsta scribingentibus et legentibus Passionem meam."⁵ The prayer in the *Acta Sanctorum* version is similar, but significantly reads "Domine Iesu Christe" for "Domine Deus omnipotens." Compare the Old English: "Drihten min God syle gode mede þam þe mine þrowunga awrite 7 þa ecean edlean þam þe hie mid tearum ræde." Apart from the addition of "mid tearum" and the omission of "omnipotens," the prayers in BHL 1769 and the Old English agree closely.⁶ The

⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 216, art. 1. Although Ker does not state the reasons for his suspicions, he most likely noted the explicit in AASS.

⁵ AASS Iul. VI (1868): 1.42, para. 98.

⁶ While not enough of the incipit is printed to allow comparison with the beginning of the Old English homily, the agreement is nevertheless close: "In tempore illo, quo Dagnus rex regnabit in civitate Samon, venit illuc homo ex genere Cananeus."

source of the Christopher text(s) cannot be ascertained until a full survey is undertaken of the Latin texts circulating in Anglo-Saxon England and until BHL 1769 is printed; and even then the exact source may remain unknown.⁷

"The Passion of Saint Christopher" has been edited a number of times, by G. Herzfeld in 1889,⁸ E. Eickenel in 1895,⁹ and S. Rypins in 1924.¹⁰ All three editions betray certain limitations, although it would be unfair to group them together. Eickenel's edition is wholly unreliable, while Herzfeld's markedly better edition contains its own share of errors. Rypins's edition is, for the modern student, somewhat taxing, as it provides a semi-diplomatic transcription and not an edited text. Scholarship on the text remains weakly represented, as only a couple of publications can be added to those items listed in the Greenfield-Robinson bibliography.¹¹ Studies of the Christopher legend broadly are more numerous, although these pertain, in the main, to the development of the Christopher legend in the Middle Ages.¹²

⁷ Another account of the Christopher legend occurs in the *Old English Martyrology*. The account includes colorful details of the dog-headed saint's awesome countenance: "He hæfde hundes heafod, ond his loccas wæron ofergemet side, ond his eagon scinon swa leohte swa morgensteorra, ond his teþ wæron swa scarpe swa eorores tuxas" (Günter Kotzer, ed., *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, n. F. 88 [Munich, 1981]; for Christopher, see 2: 68–71).

⁸ G. Herzfeld, "Bruchstück einer ae. Legende," *Englische Studien* 13 (1889): 142–45.

⁹ [Eugen] Eickenel, "Das altenglische Christofoorus-fragment," *Anglia* 17 (1895): 110–22.

¹⁰ Stanley Rypins, ed., *Three Old English Prose Texts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv*, EETS, o.s. 161 (London, 1924; repr. Millwood, 1987).

¹¹ Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson, *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (Toronto, 1980), items 203, 5388, 6447, and 6448. The last item, by Werner J. Soell ("São Cristóvão na literatura anglo-saxônica," *Estudos* 32 [1972]: 42–45), flagrantly appropriates from K. Sisam, "The Compilation of the Beowulf Manuscript," repr. in idem, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1963), 65–96, esp. 70–72. Recent studies are Jill Frederick, "'His ansyn wæs swylce rosan blostma': A Reading of the Old English Life of St. Christopher," *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 12–13 (1989): 137–48; and Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Woodbridge, 1995), 12–18.

¹² Of interest are: M. H. Gaidoz, "Saint Christophe à tête de chien en Irlande et en Russie," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 76 (1924): 192–218; John Salmon, "St. Christopher in English Medieval Art and Life," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 41 (1936): 76–115; Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, *Der hl. Christophorus: Seine Verehrung und seine Legende*, Acta Academiae Abonensis Humaniora, 10 (Åbo,

The following edition was prepared from the original manuscript.¹³ The use of fiber-optics and ultraviolet light has allowed the recovery and confirmation of many letters hidden by the paper frames in which the leaves are mounted. Punctuation has been supplied, but with an attempt to adhere to the pointing of the manuscript. Capitalization for the most part follows that of the manuscript, with departures indicated in the notes; proper nouns are not capitalized in the manuscript. The Latin text from the *Acta Sanctorum* is provided for the reader's reference; italicized passages indicate where the Old English text departs from the Latin. The edition is accompanied by modest notes and full glossary.

1937). In addition, see J. Fraser, "The Passion of St. Christopher," *Revue Celtique* 34 (1913): 307–25, where he edits and translates a version in the Irish *Leabar Breac*, and A. Mussafia, "Zur Christophlegende. I.," *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 129 (Vienna, 1893), 9: 1–78, where he edits an Old French version of the legend. For the Christopher legend generally, readers can consult any of a number of encyclopaedias, such as the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 4: 350–64, and *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, 4: 922–26. See David Woods, "The Origin of the Cult of St. Christopher," available at <http://www.ucc.ie/milmart/chrsorig.html>.

¹³ A full edition of the three prose texts in the *Beowulf* by Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan is being completed by the latter.

THE PASSION OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER

- '... mines dryhtnes hælendes cristes, ac þu eart dysig 7 f. 94r
 unsnotor, þu ðe ne ondætst Dryhten se ys ealra þinga
 scyppend.' Se cynin^{ge} þa yrre geworden wæs 7 het ge-
 bindan his handa 7 hys fet tosomne 7 he hyne het swing-
 5 an mi^ð isernum gyrðum 7 he het settan on his heafde
 'fyrenne helm'. Þa cempaⁿ þa ðe hyne swungon 'gec-
 wædon to ðam cyninge, 'Eadig wære^e ðu Dagnus gyf þu
 næfre geboren nære þu ðe þus wælhreowlice^e hetst tin-
 tregian þillicne Godes cempaⁿ.' Se cyningc þa yrre ge-
 10 worden wæs 7 he he^o bære ylcan tide þa weras acwel-
 lan. Se halga Cristoforus cigde to þam cynin^{ge} 7 cwæð,

- 1 ac] ac faint but visible. þu] right leg of u lost.
 3 cynin^{ge}] n² lost to tear in leaf.
 4 handa] h split horizontally, top of a² cropped, n partly cropped on right.
 6 'fyrenne helm'] MS þry weras; see notes.
 7 wære^e] MS wær. gyf] curled due to shrinkage.
 8 wælhreowlice^e] split by tear in leaf; see notes.
 11 Cristoforus] underlined in pencil. cynin^{ge}] left leg and shoulder of n² visible.

- 1 cristes] cristes . . . H, cristes ::: E. ac þu 'eart] om. HE. ac þu ea[rt] MM².
 2 dryhten] dryh[ten] H, dryht[en] E, dryht[en] R, dryhten M².
 3 cynin^{ge}] cyn[ing] H, cyni[ng] :: E, cyningc M². þa] om. HE.
 4 his] [his] E. handa] [handa] HE, [handa] R, h[anda] M². hys] his H, [his] E. hyne] hine
 H. mi^ð] [mid] E. isernum] [is]ernum E. on his heafde] [on] mi[dda]n E, on his
 heaf[de] M², on his heaf[de] R.
 6 swungon] [swencton?] H, sw[ungon] E.
 6-7 gecwædon] cwædon HE, g[e]cwædon R.
 7 wære^e ðu] wære ðu HE, wær ðu R. Dagnus] d[a]g nus E. gyf] g[if] H, [gif] E, g[if] R.
 8 wælhreowlice^e] wæl [hreowlice] H, wæ [lhreowlice] E, wæl [reowlice] M², wæl
 [grimlice] R.
 9 cempaⁿ] cemp[an] H, [cempa]n E. cyningc] cyninge H.
 10 he he^o] he þa (?) [het] H, [he þa het] E, he het R.
 10-11 acwellan] acwellan H, acwell[a]n E, acwellan :::::: R.
 11 þam] þæm R. cynin^{ge}] cynig[e] R, cyninge M.

- 'Gyf þu hwylce maran witu be me geþoht hæbbe hrædlice do ðu þa, forðon þine tintrego me synt swettran þonne huniges beobread.' Se cyningc þa het bringan isenne
 15 scamol se wæs emnheah þæs mannes upwæstmæ þæt wæs twelf fæðma lang, 7 he hyne het asettan onmiddan þa ceastre 7 þone halgan Cristo|forus he het þær to gebin-
 20 dan 7 he het beneoðan him þæt unmætoste fyr onælan 7 mit ty þe þæs fyres lig on bære mæstan hæto wæs he þær ofer 7het het geotan tyn orcas fulle eles þæt he wolde þæt þæs fyres hæto þe reðre wære 7 þe ablæstre on
 þone halgan mæn. Se halga Cristoforus þa onmiddum þam reðestan 7 þam unmætostan liges bæle he cigde to Drihtne beorhtre 7stefne 7 he cwæð to ðam cyninge:
 25 'Pas tintrego þe ðu on me bringan hehst to þinre ge-
 7scyndnesse 7 to þinre forwyrde becumað, 7 ic me næfre þine tintrego ne ondræde ne þin yrrē.' And mit ty þe 7he þis cwæð se halga on middes þæs fyres mænigo se scamull him wæs geworden eall swa geþywed weax. þa

f. 94v

12 geþoht] *see notes.*14 beobread] *ascender of d lost.*25-26 ge7scyndnesse] MS gecyndnesse; *see notes.*27 And] MS 7. þis] *bowl of þ partly lost.*

12 geþoht] ge . . . H, g[earu] E, geþo[h]t M.

13 tintrego] tintre [go] H, [tintrego] E, tintre[go] R, tintreg[o] M.

14 beobread] beo bre[ad] E.

15 scamol] scamol : E. upwæstmæ] ufwæstmæ H. wæs] w[æs] E, wæs R.

16 asettan] aset[tan] HER, asettan M.

17 halgan] halg[an] E. cristo7forus] cristoforos HMM², [cristo]foros E, crist[o]forus R.

18 onælan] on ælan HE.

19 fyres] fyre[s] R, fyres M.

20 7het het] het HE, ::: het R.

21 fyres] fyre[s] E.

24 7stefne] [stefne] H, [stefn]e E, [s]te[fn]e R.

25 þe] [þ]e E, þe R.

22-23 þe 7he þis] þus H, þe þis E.

30 geseah Dagnus se cyningc þone halgan Cristoforus on
 middum þam fyre standende 7 he geseah þæt his ansyn
 wæs swylce rosan blostma. Myt ty þe he þæt geseah he
 wæs on micles modes wafunga 7 for þæs eges fyrhto he
 wæs | swa abreged þæt he gefeol on eorðan 7 þær læg f. 95r
 35 fram þære ærestan tide þæs dæges oð ða nigoban tide.
 þæt þa geseah se halga Cristoforus he hyne het uparisan,
 7 myt ty þe he uparas he him to cwæð: 'Þu wyrresta wild-
 deor, hu lange dyrstlæcest þu þæt ðu þis folc fram me
 tyhttest swa þæt him nis alyfed þæt hi minum godum on-
 40 secgen?'

Se halga Cristoforus hi[m] andswarode 7 cwæð: 'Nu
 git micel folces mænio þurh me gelyfað on minne Drihten
 Hælende Crist 7 æfter þon þu selfa.' Se cyninge þa him
 andswarode bysmerigende 7 him to cwæð: 'Is þæs wen
 45 þæt ðu me swa beswican mæge þæt ic þinre god ge-
 bidde 7 minum wiðsace? Wite þu þonne þæt ðys mergen-
 lican dæge æt þisse sylfan tide is wrece minne teonan on
 þe, 7 ic gedo þæt ðu byst forloren 7 þin nama of þys ge-

33 wafunga] *rest of line eras.*

37 hi[m] MS *hin.*

45 þinne] MS *þone; see notes.*

30 cyningc] cyning H. Cristoforus] cristo[florus R.

32 þæt geseah] þe seah E.

35 nigoban] nigob[an] HE, nigoba[n] R.

36 hyne] h[ine] HE, hyne R.

37 him to] [him to] H.

38 dyrstlæcest] dyrst[læcest] H, dyrst læc[st] E, dyrstlæcest R.

39 hi minum] himminum E.

39-40 onsecgen] onsecgen ::::: E.

42 gelyfað] gelyfað flæste?] H, gelyf [að] E, gelyfað R. þu] [þu] H.

44 bysmerigende] bysmerige[nde] E, bysmerige[n]de R.

45 mæge] m[æge] E, mæge R.

46 wiðsace] wið sace E. þu] þu R.

47 sylfan tide] sylfan [stede?] H, sylfan :: E, syylfan t[i]d[e] R.

48 byst] [byst] E, best M.

mynde 7 of þyssu[m] life adilgod, 7 þu scealt wesan ealra
50 bysen þara þe ðurh þe on ðinne god gelyfað.

Oðre dæge þa se cyningc het þone halgan Cristoforus
to him gelædan 7 him to cwæð: 'Ongit min word | 7 on- f. 95v
saga minum godum þæt ðu on swa manegum tintregum ne
forweorðe swa ðe gegearwode synt.' Se halga him andswar-
ode 7 cwæð: 'Symle þine goda ic laðette 7 him teonan dō,
55 forþon þe minne geleafan ic unwemne geheold þone þe ic
on fulwihhte onfeng.' 'Se cyningc þyder þa het bringan
unmætre micelnesse treow þæt wæs efnheah þæs halgan
mannes lengo 7 he hit het asettan beforan þære healle 7
60 he hyne het þæron gefæstnian 7 bebead þæt ðry cempa
hyne scotedon mid hyra strælum oð þæt he wære acweald.
Pa cempa hyne þa scotedon fram þære ærestan tide þæs
dæges oð æfen. Se cyningc þa wende þæt ealle þa strælas
on his lichaman gefæstnode wæron ac ne furþon an his
65 lichaman ne gehran, ac 'ðurh' Godes mægen wæron

57 onfeng] *rest of line blank, with no erasure evident.*

65 'ðurh'] *supplied; see notes. wæron]* MS wæs; *see notes.*

49 of] [of] E. þyssu[m] þyssum H. þ[y]ssu[m] E, þyssum R, M is able to read the 'very top' of um. ealra] ealra R. þara] þara R.

51 het] he[t] E. Cristoforus] cr[isto]focus E, cristoforus R.

52 Ongit min] on [git min] E, Ongit mi[n] R. word] w[o]rd E.

52-53 onsaga] [o]nsaga E, onsaga R.

53 tintregum] tintregum R.

54 gegearwode] ge gear[wode] E, gegear[w]ode R.

55 Symle] [eall?]e H, [eall]e E, [sym]le R. dō] do E.

56 forþon] [for] þon E. ic] c H.

57 'Se] Se M.

58 micelnesse] [mi] celnesse E, m[i]celnesse R. efnheah] efen heah H.

59 mannes] mannes R.

60 7] 7 R. ðry] dry H.

62 þa] [þa] E, þa R.

63 cyningc] cyninge H.

on ðam winde hangigende æt þæs halgan mannes swyðran
healf; 7 se cyningc þa æfter sunnan setlgange he sende to f. 96r
ðam cempum 7 he beað þæt hi hyne swa gebundenne
geornlice heoldon | forðon he wende þæt þæt cristene
70 folc hyne wolde onlysan þy mergenlican dæge.

Pa se cyningc wæs utgangende to þam halgan Cristofo-
rus 7 him to cwæð: 'Hwær ys þin god? Forhwon ne com
he 7 þe gefreolsode of minum handum 7 of þyssum egesli-
can strælum?' Hraðe þa myt ty þe he þas word gecwæð
75 twa flana of þam strælum scuton on þas cyninges eagan 7
he þurh þæt wæs ablend. Þæt þa geseah se halga Cristo-
forus he him to cwæð: 'Pu wælgrimma 7 þu dysega wite
þu þæt ðis mergenlican dæge æt þære eahtoðan tide þæs
dæges ic onfó minne sigor 7 Dryhten sylf me wæs ætywed
80 þæt cristene men cumað 7 onfoð mines lichaman 7 hyne
gesettaþ on ða stowe þe him fram Drihtne ætywed wæs.
Cum þonne to minum lichaman 7 ny'm þære eorðan
lám þe ic on gemartyrod wæs 7 meng wið min blod 7

77 þu] descender of þ lost.

79 ætywed] ascender of d lost.

66 swyðran] swiðran H.

68 hyne] hine H.

70 hyne] hine H. wolde] wol[de] E.

71 se cyningc] se cyninge H. halgan] halga[n] HER.

72 Forhwon] f[or] hwon HE, f[or] hwon R.

75 twa] [twa] E, twa R.

76 ablend] ablendod H, ablen[d] E.

77 him] hym E. þu] h . . H, þ[u] E, þu M, þ[u] R.

78 þære] dære H.

79 onfó] onfo E. Dryhten] dryht[en] HE, dryht[en] M.

80 cumað] cunnað H, cumað R.

81 gesettaþ] gesett[ad] H, ge se[ttad] E, gesettaþ R, gesettaþ M². ætywed] æt y[wed] E,
ætywe[d] R.

82 ny'm] nim H, ni[m] E, ny[m] R, nym M².

83 lám] lám H, lam E. ic on] ic'on H. gemartyrod] ge mar tyr[od] E, gemartyro[d] R.

- sete on þine eagan; þonne gif þu gelyfst on God of | ealre f. 96v
 85 heortan þære sylfan tide þu bist gehæled fram þinra
 eagna blindnesse. Wite þu þæt seo ʿtīd nealæceð þæt
 Cristoforus Godes se gecorena ʿonʿfehð his gewinna mede
 7 geliffæsted ferð to Drihtne þy mergenlican dæge ær þam
 þe he fram þam cempum ácweald wære.' Þyssum wordum
 90 he ongan gebiddan 7 cweþan: 'Drihten Ælmihtig þu ðe
 me of gedwolan gehwyrdest 7 godne wisdom gelærdest
 þæt is þín þeow nu on þysse tide þe bidde gearwa hyt me
 þætte on swa hwylcre stowe swa mines lichaman ænig dæl
 sy ne sy þær ne wædl ne fyres broga; 7 gif þær neah syn
 95 untrume men 7 hig cumon to þinum þam halgan temple
 7 hig ðær gebiddon to þe of ealre heortan 7 for þinum
 naman hi ciggen minne naman gehæl þu Drihten fram
 swa hwylcere untrumnesse swá hie forhæfde.' And on
 ðære ylcan tide stefn wæs gehyredu to him cweþendu:
 100 'Cristoforus, min þeow, þin gebed ys | gehyred þeah þin f. 97r
 lichama ne sy on þære stowe; swa hwylce geleaffulle men

88 þy] MS þy.

97 þu] MS þu þone. Fram] MS fran.

98 And] MS 7.

84 þine] þine [twa] H, þine R. of] [of] HE, [of] R.

85 fram] [fram E, fram R.

86 ʿtīd] tid H, [tid] E. nealæceð] [nea]læceð E, [n]ealæceð RM².

87 ʿonʿfehð] onʿfehð R, oʿnfehð M².

88 to] [to] E, to R.

89 þe] þe R. ácweald] ácweald H, acweald E. þyssum] [þ]yssum HE, [Þ]yssum R.

90 cweþan] cweþan . . H, cwe ðan E.

91 gehwyrdest] gehwyrdest R.

92 þín] þin H, þin E. me] [me?] H, me R.

93 þætte] þte R.

94 fyres broga] fyres : broga E.

95 cumon] cunnon H.

96 ðær] þær HE, þær R.

98 swá] swá E.

swa þines naman on heora gebedum 'gebidðon' beoð ge-
 hælede fram hyra synnum 7 swa hwæs swa hie rihtlice
 biddaþ for þinum naman 7 for þinum geearningum hig hyt
 105 onfoð.' Mit ty þe þeos wuldorlice spræc of heofenum wæs
 gehyredu 7 gefylledu hraðe fram þam cempum he wæs
 slegen 7 he on þære mæstan blisse 7 unasecgendlican wul-
 dre he ferde to Criste, 7 þæt wæs wundor þæs folces þe se
 halga Cristoforus þurh his lare gode gestrynde. Þæt wæs
 110 eaht 7 feower þusenda manna 7 hundteontig 7 fiftyne.

Opre dæge þa se cyningc cwæð to his þegnum: 'Uton
 gangan 7 geseon hwær þa cempa hýne' gesett habbon.'
 And mit ty þe hie becomon to þære stowe þær se halga
 lichama wæs.

115 Se cyningc cigde micelre stemne 7 cwæð: 'Cristoforus,
 ætyw me nu þines Godes soðfæstnesse 7 ic gelyfe on
 hýne'; 7 he genam | dæl þære eorðan þær þæs Cristes
 martyr wæs on þrowigende 7 medmicel þæs blodes 7
 120 mengde tosomne 7 sette on his eagan 7 he cwæð: 'On
 naman Cristoforus Godes ic þis d'ó'; 7 hraðe on ðære
 ylcan tide his eagan wæron ontynde 7 gesihþe he onfeng

f. 97v

102 'gebidðon'] *supplied; see notes.*

106 gehyredu] *hole in leaf after ge.*

113 And] MS 7.

118 martyr] *e eras. after r².*

120 d'ó] MS dem; *see notes.*

102 gebedum beoð] gebedum hie beoð H.

103 hyra] hyr[a] E, hyr[a] R.

104 for¹] [f]or E, for R.

109 lare] lar[e] E, lare R.

111 cwæð] cwæþ H.

112 hýne] hy[ne] HE, hyn[e] R.

117 he genam] hege [nam] E. dæl] [an?] dæl H.

118 þrowigende] þrowigende R.

119 cwæð] cwæþ H.

120 Cristoforus] cristoforus R. on ðære] on þære H.

- 7 he cigde micelre stemne 7 he cwæð beforan eallum þam
folce: 'Wuldorfæst ys 7 micel cristenra manna God þæs
wuldorgeworces nane mennisce searwa ofercuman ne
125 magon. Ic þonne nu fram þyssum dægenlican dæge ic
sende mine bebodu geond eall mīn rice þætte nan mon þe
to mines rices anwealde belimpe ne gedyrstlæce nan wuht
do óngean þæs heofonlican Godes willan þe Cristoforus
beeode. 'Gif þonne ænig man þurh deofles searwa to
130 þon beswicen sy þæt 'he' hyt gedyrstlæce on þære ylcan
tide sy he mid swyrde witnode: forþon ic nu soðlice wat
þæt nan eorðlic anweald ne nan gebrosnodlic nys noht
butan his anes.' And swa þa wæs geworden þurh Godes
miht 7 þurh | gecearnunga þæs eadigan Cristoforus þætte
135 se cyningc gelyfde se wæs ær deofles willan full þæs eadi-
gan Cristoforus. Wuldorgeworc synd nu lang to asecgane
þe Dryhten þurh hyne geworhte to herennesse his naman
7 nu oð þyssne dæg wyrcoð, forþon þe þær nu blowað 7
growað his þa halgan gebedu 7 þær ys Drihtnes hyrnes

f. 98r

- 122 eallum] *hole after word.*
124 wuldorge(worces] *wor lost to stain.*
129 'Gif] *fragment of G visible.*
130 'he] *supplied.*
133 And] *MS 7.*
136 Cristoforus] *o² altered from u.*

-
- 123 ys 7] 7 [ece?] ys 7 H.
124 wuldorge(worces] wuldorge 'writes H.
126 mīn] min E.
128 do óngean] doongean HE.
129 'Gif] Gif HE.
130 þæt 'he] þæt he H, þæt ER.
132 noht] naht HEM.
135 cyningc] cyninge H. ær] ar E. willan] will[an] HEM².
136 Cristoforus] cristofurus E. Wuldorgeworc] wuldorgeworc ... H.
138 nu blowað] in ... blowað H, blowað E.
139 7 þær ys] 7 ... ys H, ys E.

140 mid ealre sybbe 7 gefean 7 þær ys gebletsod Crist Godes
 sunu lyfigendes se rixað mid Fæder 7 mid Suna 7 mid
 þam Halgan Gaste a butan ende.

145 Þyses eac bæd se halga Cristoforus on þære nihstan
 tide ær he his gast onsende 7 cwæð: 'Drihten min God
 syle gode mede þam þe mine þrowunga awrite 7 þa ecean
 edlean þam þe hie mid tearum ræde.'

146 tearum] left leg of u visible.

140 7 gefean] 7 [mid ge]fean H, fean E, gefean R.

141 sunu] sunu M².

143 on] on H, on M², of R.

146 ræde] ræde. 7 H.

NOTES

1. ac þu eart] Malone ("Readings," 256) reads "ea at the edge but not with certainty."
- 5-6. he het asettan on his heafde fyrenne helm] MS: "he het asettan on his heafde þry weras." The text is evidently corrupt here, with a lacuna in the exemplar after *heafde*. The Latin text makes clear that a fiery or burning hot helmet is placed on the saint's head (*et mitti in caput eius cassidem igneam*) and that the three *cempan* are Dagnus's counselors (*tres ex consilibus*). The OE exemplar may have read "he het settan on his heafde fyrenne helm. Þa þry weras þa ðe hyne swungon" (omitting "Þa cempan"); or "Þa cempan þa hyne swungon" (omitting "þry weras"). McGowan ("Notes," 452) suggests "þry weras of þam cempum . . . cwædon to ðam cyninge." Sisam ("Compilation," 69), who first suggested emending to "fyrenne helm", remarks that "þry weras" "represents the subject of the next sentence." Einenkel (112) omits "on his heafde" and misreads the MS: "7 he het set tan [on] mi[dd]a[n] þry weras."
- 6-7. gecwædon] Malone ("Readings," 256): "The letter after *swungon* is not *g*." In his facsimile edition (*Codex*, 32), Malone suggests "oncwædon." McGowan ("Notes," 452) notes that the reading "oncwædon makes good sense if *oncwæðan* is taken here in the sense 'to protest'; the three counselors are not in a strict sense replying to Dagnus: compare *tunc dixerunt tres ex consilibus*."
7. wære] A mark in ink after the word. Rypins reads "wær". Malone (*Codex*, 32-33) notes: "The ink mark before *ðu* [line] 8 is doubtless accidental." McGowan ("Notes," 452) writes: "it seems possible that the *e* is in ligature to both the preceding *ɾ* and following *ð*. The ink point may be accidental; it may also be a cramped *e*; at any rate, for the second pers. subj. sing. one would expect *wære*, and *wære ðu* seems the better reading."
8. wælhreowlice] The reading is provided by McGowan (pers. corresp.), who notes that *hr* is visible under ultraviolet light.
- 10-11. acwellan] Herzfeld sees an erasure after the word; Rypins records seven letter spaces; Einenkel is correct: "H *acwellan*, dass dies auf Rasur steht, kann ich nicht finden." There is, however, a point after the word, which Malone notes.
11. cyninge] Malone comments: "Of the last two letters only traces

- remain, covered with transparent paper" ("Readings," 256).
12. *geboht*] The reading confirmed by McGowan (pers. corresp.). The *oh* are obscured, appearing only as letter fragments to the eye, but are confirmed by fiber-optics and ultraviolet light.
23. *unmætoſtan*] *lyges* erased after word at line end; Eienkel records "[lige] liges," with a note on the erasure.
- 25-26. *gescyndneſſe*] As Sisam notes, the MS reading *gescyndneſſe* "is unsuitable; for a saint would not threaten such vicarious punishment. Read *gescyndneſſe* 'to thy confusion', with the fair certainty that (*in tua*) *confusione* was in the Latin text used" ("Compilation," 69). Herzfeld and Eienkel also call attention to the reading. The version printed by Mombricitus [BHL1767] reads "in tua erubescencia et confusione ac diis tuis retorquebuntur" (366).
33. After *wafunga*, rest of line erased (ca. 92 mm.), with *wafunga* as the only word at the beginning of the line. The erased section does not undermine the grammatical structure of the line, and this suggests scribal editing to eliminate an error in copying.
39. *minum*] Eienkel mistakenly records an erasure of 9-10 letters after this word.
45. *pinne*] As Sisam ("Compilation," 69) notes, emendation of MS *þone* to *þinne* lends better sense to the line; cf. l. 40 "on ðinne god gelyfað".
46. *minum wiðſace*] Herzfeld suggests that *godum* may have dropped out after *minum*; however, no emendation is necessary.
60. *ðry ceman*] An erroneous translation; the Latin reads *ternas sagittas* and does not specify the number of soldiers.
65. *ac ðurh Godes mægen wæron . . . healf*] It is not God's power that hangs in the wind, but the soldier's arrows. The line thus requires the addition of *ðurh* and the emendation of *wæs* to *wæron*. See Sisam, "Compilation," 69.
69. A second *forðon* written in Nowell's hand at the bottom of the leaf as a catchword.
76. *ablend*] Herzfeld emends to *ablendod*, stating that the final two letters were erased. While there is an erasure after the word, no letters can be detected; the past participle of *ablendan* is grammatically correct.
84. *pine*] Malone ("Readings," 258) writes: "There is room for *twa* at the end of the line and what looks like traces of *wa* can be seen in

- the MS., but the photograph shows nothing after *þine* and R's reading must be accepted."
86. tid] Malone ("Readings," 258) notes that "the right-hand part of the *ti* ligature can be made out and the *d* is partly visible."
 88. þy] A point follows *drihtne* in the MS, and *þ* is written as a majuscule.
 94. fyres broga] Einenkel detects an erasure before *broga*, and suggests *gebroga* as the original form. Rypins correctly notes show-through from fol. 96r l. 13 *drihten*.
 100. Herzfeld mistakenly indicates fol. 97r as beginning with *þeah*.
 102. gebiddon] A verb wanting. Herzfeld suggests *gemunon* (144, n. 4). The omission, as McGowan ("Notes," 454) suggests, may have resulted from a haplographical error. Note the possible tricolon, [78] *gebiddon* . . . [84] 'gebiddon' . . . *biddaþ*.
 112. hnye] Malone ("Readings," 259) writes: "Leaf torn between *y* and *n*, damaging *y* somewhat; *ne* shrunken and part of *e* gone, rest covered but visible through paper."
 120. dó] It is possible that the scribe mistook *o* for *e* and an accent as a macron, thus *dó* › *dem*. The emendation offers better sense to the line and follows the Latin: "I do this in the name of Christopher's God" vs. "I judge this . . .". See Sisam, "Compilation," 69-70.
 130. hyt] Herzfeld supplies *he* before the word; although not strictly needed (note Einenkel 121, n. 145: "nach den Regeln der ae. Syntax ist die Setzung desselben hier geradezu falsch"), it serves to balance the second conditional clause, "sy he mid swyrde witnod"; see McGowan, "Notes," 454.
 143. on] Malone ("Readings," 259) reads of: "The last letter is almost certainly *f* rather than *n*. It was badly damaged by a tear in the leaf and only part of its left side remains." In his facsimile edition he reads *on*, which is what the clause requires; cf. l. 75 on *þysse tide*; l. 98 on *ðære ylcan tide*; l. 106 on *þære ylcan tide*. See McGowan, "Notes," 454.
 146. ræde] Herzfeld takes the end-punctuation as a tironian *et*.

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Leinbaugh, Theodore. "St. Christopher and the Old English Martyrology: Latin Sources." *Notes and Queries* 32 (1985): 434-37.
- Malone, Kemp. "Readings from Folios 94 to 131: MS. Cotton Vitellius A XV." In *Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor Albert Croll* *Baugh*, ed. MacEdward Leach, 255-71. Philadelphia, 1961. [= M]
- , ed. *The Nowell Codex: British Museum Cotton Vitellius A. XV, Second MS. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 12. Copenhagen, 1963. [= M²]
- McGowan, Joseph. "Notes on the OE Version of the Vita Sancti Christophori." *Neophilologus* 75 (1991): 451-55.
- . "Readings from the Beowulf Manuscript, fols. 94r-98r (The St. Christopher Folios)." *Manuscripta* 39 (1995): 26-29.
- Mombritius, Boninus [Bonino Mombrizio], ed. *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*. Vol. 1. Rev ed. Paris, 1910.
- Sisam, Kenneth. "The Compilation of the Beowulf Manuscript." In idem, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, 65-96. Oxford, 1962.

LATIN TEXT FROM THE *ACTA SANCTORUM*

[Numbers in brackets indicate the corresponding section in the Old English]

[1-16] *Ego non sum stultus, sed sum servus Domini Iesu Christi; tu autem stultus es, et insipiens, qui non confiteris Dominum Iesum Christum, sed confiteris satanam patrem tuum. Et iratus rex iussit ligari manus et pedes eius, et caedi ad virgas ferreas: et mitti in caput eius cassidem igneam. Tunc dixerunt tres ex consiliis: Beatus fueras Dagne, si natus non fuisses, quoniam talia tormenta fieri iussisti famulo Dei. Iratus rex iussit eos decollari. Tunc sanctus Christophorus dixit ad eum: Si amplius potueris tormenta mihi facere, fac rex stulte; mihi vita aeterna est, et dulciora super mel et favum tormenta tua. Tunc iussit rex fieri scamnum ferreum secundum statum eius. Et venerunt artifices et tulerunt mensuram eius, quae erat cubitorum duodecim. Et factum est secundum iussionem regis, et posuerunt eum in medium civitatis, [et] iussit eum rex ibi ligari, et ignem supponi, et iussit quadraginta orcas olei mitti super eum. [17-38] Respondit sanctus Dei de medio igne; et dixit: Haec tormenta tua, quae mihi facis in tua turpitudine, et diis tuis consumentur. Ego semel tibi dixi: quia non timebo tormenta tua, nec iram tuam. Cum haec dixisset de multitudine flammae, scamnum illud factum est tamquam cera. Veniens autem rex, et videns sanctum Christophorum in medio igne stantem et orantem (et erat facies eius tamquam rosa nova) videns eum rex, cecidit in faciem suam a timore ragnano ab hora prima usque ad horam nonam. Postquam vero surrexit, dixit sancto Christophoro: Fera mala, non tibi sufficiunt peccata animarum, quas errare fecisti, et non permisisti sacrificare diis; sed omnem populum meum traxisti ad te?*

Respondit sanctus Christophorus, et dixit: Adhuc multae animae per me credere habent [in] Dominum Iesum Christum, et tu ipse. Et blasphemavit rex eum, et dixit ad sanctum Christophorum: Numquid et me vis in tuis malefaciis adducere? *Et iratus valde rex dicit ad sanctum Christophorum: Sic mihi faciant dii mei, et sic mihi reddant, si non crastina ista hora perdidero animam tuam, [39-57] et ad exemplum omnium te faciam prevenire. Alia autem die iussit adduci sanctum Christophorum: et cum venisset ante conspectum eius, dicit ad eum: Iam sacrificare diis et intellige verba mea, ut non per multa tormenta pereas. Sanctus Christophorus dixit: Ego diis tuis abominationem feci; quia fidem meam habeo, quam in baptismo accepi.*

Tunc iussit rex exhiberi lignum magnum secundum statum eius, et poni ante palatium; et vocati sunt milites, et iussit famulum Dei Christophorum ad lignum adligari. Et venientes milites secundum ordinationem regis ternas sagittas sagittaverunt super eum, ut citus interficeretur famulus Dei. Et dixit rex: *Videamus, si Dominus eius potest venire, et liberare eum de manibus meis, et de sagittis his.* Et sagittaverunt eum ab hora prima usque horam duodecimam; et putabat rex stultus quod totae sagittae in corpore eius fixae essent. Sagittae autem suspendebantur a vento a dextris atque sinistris eius: *et nulla ex his corpus eius tetigit.* Et post solis occasum, iussit eum rex dimitti ligatum, et custodiri eum, ne forte a Christianis nocte solveretur. *Multus autem populus exspectabat excipere corpus eius.*

[58-76] *Alio vero die dixit rex: Eamus et videamus illum maleficum.* Et veniens ad eum dixit ei: Ubi est Deus tuus? Veniat et liberet te de manibus meis, et de sagittis his. Statim exsilens una de sagittis ipsis ingressa est in oculum regis et excaecavit eum, et dicit sanctus Christophorus: Tibi dico, tyranne stulte, si credis: ego crastino, hora octava, accipio meam coronam in omni bono. Et hoc mihi Dominus ostendere dignatus est. Veniunt multi Christiani, et accipiunt corpus meum, et ponunt illud in locum orationis; tu autem veni in illo loco, et fac lutum cum sanguine in nomine Domine nostri Iesu Christi; et pone in oculum tuum, et salvus fueris. Et tunc adpropinquavit hora, ut coronaretur sanctus Dei. Aperuit os suum in oratione et dixit: Domine Deus meus, qui eduxisti me de errore in scientiam hanc, quod te rogo, praesta mihi: et in quo loco posuerint corpus meum, non ibi [77-99] ingrediatur grando, non ira flammae, non fames, non mortalitas: *et in civitate illa, et in illis locis, si fuerint ibi malefici, aut daemoniaci,* et veniunt et orant ex toto corde, et propter nomen tuum nominant nomen meum in suis orationibus salvi fiant. Et venit ei vox de caelo dicens: Christophore. famule meus, *ubi est corpus tuum, et ubi non est; commemorantur autem in oratione sua nomen tuum; quidquid petierint, accipiant, et salvi fiant.* Complens autem suum martyrium bonum, coronatur mense Iulio viii kal. Augustas. Sunt autem numero, qui crediderunt in nomine Domini Iesu Christi per sanctum Christophorum, *millia hominum quadraginta et octo, et animae centum undecim.* Alia vero dixit rex: Eamus, et videamus, ubi posuerunt eum. Et veniens in illum locum clamavit voce magna, dicens: Christophore, *famule Dei,* ostende mihi virtutem Dei tui, ut et ego credam in eum. Et tulit terram de loco illo, ubi passus est, cum modico sanguine eius, et posuit in oculum suum in nomine Dei Christophori: et in ipsa hora aperti sunt oculi eius. Tunc rex clamavit voce magna dicens: [100-119]

Gloria tibi, Deus Christianorum; qui facis voluntatem timentibus te, et ego ab hodierno die [ponam] praeceptum meum in omni populo, et in omni lingua; [ut] quisquis blasphemaverit Deum Christianorum, gladio percutiatur. Hanc orationem constituit sanctus Christophorus: Domine Iesu Christe praesta bonam mercedem scribentibus et legentibus passionem meam: qui regnas cum Patre, et Spiritu Sancto, in saeculo saeculorum. Amen.

GLOSSARY

- a* *adv.* forever, always. 142
ablæst *adj.* furious. *i.s. compar.* *ablaestre* 21
ablendan 1. blind. *p. ptc.* *ablend* 76
abregan 1. alarm, frighten. *p. ptc.* *abreged* 34
ac *conj.* but, however. 1, 64, 65
acwellan 1. kill. *inf.* 9; *pret.* 3 *sg.* *acweald* 61, 89
adilgian 2. blot out, abolish. *p. ptc.* *adilgod* 49
æfen *m.* evening. *a.s.* 63
æfter *adv.* after. 67; *æfter þon.* afterwards. 43
æلميhtig *adj.* almighty. *n.s.m.* 90
ænig *adj.* any. *n.s.* 93, 129
ær *adv.* before. 135, 144; *ær þam þe* 88
ærest *adj.* first. *d.s.f* *ærestan* 35, 62
æt *prep. w. d.* at. 47, 66, 78
ætywan 1. reveal, show. *imp. sg.* *ætyw* 116; *p. ptc.* *ætywed* 79, 81
alyfan 1. permit, allow. *p. ptc.* *alyfed* 39
an *adj.* alone, only. *g.s.m.* ones 133
an *num.* one. 64
and *conj.* and. 1, 3, 4, 5, etc.
andswarian 1. answer *pret.* 3 *sg.* *andswarode* 41, 44, 54
ansyn *f* face, countenance. *n.s.* 31
anweald *m.* power, authority, jurisdiction. *n.s.* 132; *d.s.* *anwealde* 127
asecgan 3. tell, say. *infl. inf* *asecgenne* 136
asettan 1. set, put. *inf.* 59
awritan 1. write, record. *subj.* 3 *sg.* *awrite* 145

bæl *n.* fire, flame. *d.s.* *bæle* 23
be *prep. w. d.* concerning. 12
bebeodan II. command. *pret.* 3 *sg.* *bebead* 60
bebod *n.* command, decree. *a.p.* *bebodu* 126
becuman IV. come, befall. *pres.* 3 *pl.* *becumað* 26; *pret.* 3 *pl.* *becomon* 113
gebed *n.* prayer. *n.s.* 100; *d.p.* *gebedum* 102; *a.p.* *gebedu* 139
beeode → *began*.
beforan *prep. w. d.* before. 59, 122
began *anom?*. honor. *pret.* 3 *sg.* *beeode* 129
belimpan III. pertain. *pres.* 3 *sg.* *belimpe* 127

beneoðan *prep.* w. d. beneath. 18

beobread *n.* (honey-)comb [lit. 'bee-bread']. *a.s.* 14

beodan 11. command. *pret.* 3 *sg.* beað 68

beon-wesan *anom.* be. *pres.* 2 *sg.* eart 1; *byst, bist* 48, 85; 3 *sg.* ys, is 3, 44, 72, etc.; 3 *pl.* synt, synd 13, 54, 136; 3 *pl.* beoð 102; *pret.* 3 *sg.* wæs 3, 10, 15, 19, 29, 32, 33, 34, etc.; *pret. pl.* wæron 64, 65, 121; *pres. subj.* 3 *sg.* sy 94, 101, 130, 131; *pres. subj.* 3 *pl.* syn 94; *pret. subj.* 3 *sg.* wære 7, 21, 61, 89; *pret. subj.* 3 *sg. neg.* nære 8; *with neg. pres.* 3 *sg.* nis, nys 39, 132

beorht *adj.* bright, clear. *d.s.f* beohtr 24

geberan IV. bear, bring forth. *pt. ptc.* geboren 8

beswican I. deceive, ensnare. *inf.* 45; *p. ptc.* beswicen 130

gebiddan V. pray, ask. *inf.* 90; *pres.* 1 *sg.* bidde 92; *pres.* 3 *pl.* biddaþ 104; *pret.* 3 *sg.* bæd 143; *pres. subj.* 1 *sg.* gebidde 46; *pres. subj.* 3 *pl.* gebiddon 90, 96, 102

gebindan III. bind. *inf.* 4, 17; *p. ptc.* gebundenne *a.s.m.* 68

gebletsian 2. bless. *p. ptc.* gebletsod 140

blindnes *f.* blindness. *d.s.* blindnesse 86

bliss *f.* bliss, joy, happiness. *d.s.* blisse 107

blod *n.* blood. *g.s.* blodes 118; *a.s.* 83

blostma *m.* blossom. *n.s.* 32

blowan VII. flourish. *pres.* 3 *pl.* blowað 138

bringan 1. bring. *inf.* 14, 25, 57

broga *m.* terror. *n.s.* 94

gebrosnodlic *adj.* corruptible. *n.s.m.* 132

butan *prep.* except, without. 133, 142

bysen *f.* example, model. *n.s.* 50

bysmerian 2. mock. *pres. ptc.* bysmeriende 44

ceaster *f* city. *a.s.* ceastre 17

cempa *m.* soldier, warrior. *a.s.* cempan 9; *n.p.* cempan 6, 60, 62, 112; *d.p.* cempum 68, 89, 106

geceosan II. chose. *n.s.m.* (*subst.*) gecorena 87

cigan 1. call. *pret.* 3 *sg.* cigde 11, 23, 115, 122; *pres. subj.* 3 *pl.* ciggen 97
cigde → cigan.

gecorena → geceosan.

Crist *m.* Christ. *g.s.* Cristes 1, 117; *d.s.* Criste 108; *a.s.* Crist 43

cristen *adj.* Christian. *n.s.n.* **cristene** 69; *n.p.m.* **cristene** 80; *g.p.m.* **cristenra** 123

Cristoforus *n.s.* 11, 22, 30, 36, 41, etc.; *d.s.* 71; *g.s.* 120, 134, 136; *a.s.* 17, 51

cuman *IV.* *come.* *pres.* 3 *pl.* **cumað** 80; *pret.* 3 *sg.* **com** 72; *imp.* 2 *sg.* **cum** 82; *subj.* 3 *pl.* **cumon** 95

cyninge. **cyninge** *m.* king. *n.s.* 3, 9, 14, 30, 43, 51, 57, 63, 67, etc.; *d.s.* **cyninge** 8, 11, 24; *g.s.* **cyninges** 75

cweðan, **cweþan** *V.* *say.* *inf.* 90; *prer.* 3 *sg.* **cwæð** 11, 24, 28, 37, 41, 44, 52, 55, etc.; *pres. ptc.* **cweþendu** 99

gecweðan *V.* *say.* *pret.* 3 *sg.* **gecwæð** 74; *pret.* 3 *pl.* **gecwædon** 6
cwæð → **cweðan**.

daeg *m.* day. *d.s.* **dæge** 51, 125; *g.s.* **dæges** 35, 63, 79; *a.s.* **dæg** 138; *i.s.* **dæge** 47, 78, 88

dægenlic *adj.* daily, of this day. *d.s.m.* **dægenlican** 125

dæl *m.* part, portion. *n.s.* 93, 117

Dagnus *n.s.* 7, 30

deofol *m./n.* devil. *g.s.* **deofles** 129, 135

don *anom.* *do.* *pres.* 1 *sg.* **do** 55, 128; *imp.* *sg.* **do** 13; *subj.* 3 *sg.* **do** 120

gedon *anom.* *do.* *pres.* 1 *sg.* **gedo** 48

dryhten, **drihten** *m.* lord, the Lord. *n.s.* 78, 90, 97, 137, 144; *d.s.* **drihtne** 24, 81, 88; *a.s.* **dryhten**, **drihten** 2, 42; *g.s.* **dryhtnes** 1, 139

gedyrstlæcan 1. dare, presume. *pres.* 2 *sg.* **dyrstlæccest** 38; *subj.* 3 *sg.* **gedyrstlæce** 127, 130

dysig *adj.* foolish. *n.s.m.* 1, (*subst.*) **dysega** 77

eac *adv.* also. 143

eadig *adj.* blessed. *n.s.m.* 6; *g.s.* **eadigan** 134, 135

eage *n.* eye. *n.p.* **eagan** 121; *d.p.* **eagan** 84, 119; *g.p.* **eagena** 86; *a.p.* **eagan** 75

eaht *num.* eight. *n.p.m.* 110

eahtoða *num.* eighth. *d.s.f.* **eahtoðan** 78

eall *adj.* all. *a.s.n.* 126; *g.p.m.* **ealra** 2; *d.s.f.* **ealre** 84, 96, 140; *d.s.n.* **eallum** 122; **ealle** *n.p.f.* 63; *g.p.f.* **ealra** 49; used *adverbially*. entirely.

geearnung *f.* favor. *d.p.* **geearnungum** 104; *a.p.* **geearnunga** 134

ece *adj.* eternal. *a.p.n.* **eccean** 145

- edlean** *n.* reward. *a.p.* 146
efnheah *adj.* equally high. *a.s.n.* 58
ege *m.* fear. terror, dread. *g.s.* 33
egeslic *adj.* fearful, dreadful. *d.p.m/f.* **egeslicum** 73
ele *m.* oil. *g.s.* **eles** 20
emneah *adj.* equally high. *n.s.m.* 15
ende *m.* end. *d.s.* 142
eorðan *f.* earth, ground. *d.s.* 34, 82; *g.s.* 117
eorðlic *adv.* earthly. *n.s.m.* 132

fæder *m.* father. *d.s.* 141
gefæstnian 2. fix, fasten, secure. *inf.* 60; *p. ptc. pl.* **gefæstnode** 64
fæðm *m.* fathom. *g.p.* **fæðma** 16
gefean *m.* joy, gladness. *d.s.* **gefean** 140
gefeallan VII. fall. *pret.* 3 *sg.* **gefeol** 34
feower *num.* four. *n.p.m.* 110
feran 1. go. *pres.* 3 *sg.* **ferð** 88; *pret.* 3 *sg.* **ferde** 108
fet → **fot**.
fiftyne *num.* fifteen. *n.p.m.* 110
flan *f.* dart. *n.p.f.* **flana** 75
folc *n.* people. *n.s.* 70; *a.s.* 38; *g.s.* **folces** 42, 108; *d.s.* **folce** 123
for *prep. w. d.* because of, for, on account of. 33, 96, 104
forhabban 3. restrain. *pret. subj.* 3 *sg.* **forhaefde** 98
forhwon *adv.* why. 72
forleosan II. destroy. *p. ptc.* **forloren** 48
forðon *conj.* because, for, therefore. 13, 69, 131; **forþon þe** 56, 138
forweorðan III. die, perish. *subj.* 2 *sg.* **forweorðe** 54
forwyrd *f.* destruction, demise, ruin. *d.s.* **forwyrde** 26
fot *m.* foot. *a.p.* **fet** 4
fram, from *prep. w. d.* from, by. 35, 38, 62, etc.
gefreolsian 2. free, liberate. *pret.* 3 *sg.* **gefreolsode** 73
full *adj.* full. *n.s.m.* 135
fulwiht *m. f.* baptism. *d.s.* **fulwihte** 57
furþon *adv.* even 64
gefillan 1. fulfil. *p. ptc.* **gefylledu** 106
fyr *n.* fire. *g.s.* **fyres** 19, 21, 29; *d.s.* **fyre** 31; *a.s.* **fyr** 18
fyren *adj.* fiery, burning. *a.s.m.* **fyrenne** 6
fyrhto *f., indecl.* in *sg.* fear, terror, dread. 33

- gangan VII. go. *inf.* 112
 gast *m.* ghost, spirit. *d.s.* gaste 142; *a.s.* gast 144
 gearwa *adv.* readily, clearly. 92
 gegearwian 2. prepare. *p. ptc.* gegearwode 54
 geboren → geberan.
 gescyndnes, -se *f.* confusion. *d.s.* gescyndnesse 26
 gecwædon → gecweðan.
 gedwola *m.* error. *d.s.* gedwolan 91
 geleafa *m.* faith, belief. *a.s.* geleafan 56
 gemynd *n.* memory. *i.s.(?)*. gemynde 49
 geond *prep.* w. a. throughout. 126
 geornlice *adv.* eagerly, zealously. 69
 geotan II. pour. *inf.* 20
 gepoht *m.* thought. *a.s.* 12
 geworden → weorðan.
 gif, gyf *conj.* if. 7, 12, etc.
 git *adv.* yet, still. 42
 God *m.* God. *n.s.* 123, 144; *g.s.* Godes 9, 65, etc.; *a.s.* God 50, 84, etc.
 god *n.* (pagan) god. *d.p.* godum 39, 53; *a.p.* goda 55
 god *adj.* good. *a.s.m.* godne 91; *a.s.f.* gode 109, 145
 growan VII. grow. *pres.* 3 *pl.* growað 139
 gyrd *f.* rod. *d.p.* gyrðum 5

 habban 3. have. *pres. subj.* 2 *sg.* hæbbe 12; *pres. subj.* 3 *pl.* habbon 112
 hæbbe → habban.
 gehælan 1. heal, save. *imp.* 2 *sg.* gehæl 97; *pres. prc.* *n.s.m.* gehæled 85;
 n.p.m. gehælede 103
 hælend *m.* Saviour. Healer. *d.s.* hælende 43; *g.s.* hælendes 1
 hæto *f.* indecl. heat. *n.s.* 21; *d.s.* 19
 halig *adj.* holy. *n.s.m.* halga 11, 22, 28 (*subst.*), 54, etc.; *d.s.m.* halgan 71,
 142; *g.s.m.* halgan 58, 66; *a.s.m.* halgan 17, 22, 30, 51; *d.s.n.* halgan
 95; *a.p.n.* halgan 139
 hand *f.* hand. *d.p.* handum 73; *a.p.* handa 4
 hangian 2. hang. *pres. ptc.* hangigende 66
 hatan VII. command. order. *pret.* 2 *sg.* hetst 8, 25; *pret.* 3 *sg.* het 3, 4, 5,
 10, 14, etc.
 he, hit *pers. pm.* he, it. *n.s.m.* he 4, 5, 10, 16, 17, 18, etc.; *g.s.m.* his, hys
 4, 5, etc.; *d.s.m.* him 18, 29, 39, 41, 43, etc.; *a.s.m.* hine, hyne 6, 16,

- 36, 60, etc.; *a.s.n.* hit, hyt 20, 59, 92, 104, etc.; *n.p.* hig, hi, hie 39, 68, 95, etc.; *d.p.* hyra 61; *g.p.* heora 102, hyra 103; *d.p.* him 54, 77; *a.p.* hie 103, 146.
- heafod** *n.* head. *d.s.* heafde 5
- gehealdan** VII. hold, keep. *pres.* 1 *sg.* geheold 56; *pret. subj.* 3 *pl.* heoldon 69
- healf** *f.* side. *d.s.* healfe 67
- heall** *f.* hall. *d.s.* healle 59
- helm** *m.* helmet. *a.s.* 6
- heofon** *m.* heaven. *d.p.* heofenum 105
- heofonlic** *adj.* heavenly. *a.s.m.* heofonlican 128
- heorte** *f.* heart. *d.s.* heortan 85, 96
- hereness** *f.* praise. *d.s.* herennesse 137
- gehieran** I. hear. *pret.* 3 *sg.* gehyred 100; *p. ptc.* gehyerdu 99, 106
- hædlice** *adv.* quickly, swiftly, forthwith. 12
- hraðe** *adv.* quickly. 74, 106, 120
- gehrinan** I. touch. *pret.* 3 *sg.* gehran 65
- hu** *adv.* how. 38
- hundteontig** *num.* one hundred twenty. *n.p.m.* 110
- hunig** *n.* honey. *g.s.* huniges 14
- hwær** *adv.* where. 72, 112
- gehwierfan** I. turn. *pret.* 2 *sg.* gehwyfdest 91
- hwylce** *adj.* some, any. *a.p.n.* 12
- hynes** *f.* obedience. *n.s.* 139
- ic** *pm.* I. *n.s.* 26, 45, 48, 55, 56, etc.; *d.s.* me 12, 13, 25, 26, etc.; *a.s.* me 45, 91
- isen** *adj.* iron. *a.s.m.* isenne 14
- isern** *adj.* iron. *d.p.f.* isernum 5
- gelædan** I. lead, bring. *inf.* 52
- gelæran** I. teach. *pret.* 2 *sg.* gelærdest 91
- geleafful** *adj.* faithful. *n.p.m.* geleaffulle 101
- lam** *n.* clay, mud. *a.s.* 83
- lang** *adj.* long. *n.s.n.* 16; *n.p.n.* lang 136
- lange** *adv.* long. 38
- lar** *f.* teaching. *d.s.* lare 109
- laðettan** I. abominate. *pres.* 1 *sg.* laðette 55

lengo *indecl. f. length. d.s.* 59

lifian 2. *live. pres. ptc. a.s.m. lyfigendes* 141

licgan V. *lie. pret. 3 sg. læg* 34

lichama *m. body. n.s.* 101, 114; *g.s. lichaman* 93; *d.s. lichaman* 64, 82; *a.s.*

lichaman 65, 80

lif *n. life. d.s.* 49

geliffaestan 1. *bring to life. p. ptc. geliffæsted* 88

lig *m. flame. n.s.* 19; *g.s. liges* 23

gelyfan 1. *believe, trust. pres. 1 sg. gelyfe* 116; *pres. 2 sg. gelyfst* 84; *pres.*

3 pl. gelyfab 42, 50; *pret. 3 sg. gelyfde* 135

maegen *n. strength, power. a.s.* 65

maenigo *f. multitude. n.s. mænio* 42; *a.s. maenigo* 28

mæst *adj. greatest, most. d.s.f. mæstan* 19, 107

magan *pret. pres. be able, can. subj. 2 sg. maege* 45

manig *adj. many. d.p.m. manegum* 53

magan *pret. pres. be able, can. pres. 3 pl. magon* 125

mann *m. man. n.s. mon, man* 126, 129; *g.s. mannes* 15, 59, 66; *a.s. man*

22; *n.p. men* 80, 101; *g.p. manna* 110, 123

mara *adj. (compar. of micel). greater, more. a.p.n. maran* 12

martyr *m. martyr. n.s.* 118

gemartyrian 1. *martyr. p. ptc. gemartyrod* 83

me → **ic**.

mede *f. reward. a.s.* 87, 145

medmicel *adj. little, small amount. subst.* 118

mengan 1. *mix, mingle. imp. 2 sg. meng* 83; *pret. 3 sg. mengde* 119

mennisc *adj. human. n.p.f. mennisce* 124

mergenlic *adj. of the morrow. i.s.m. mergenlican* 46, 70, 78, 88

micel *adj. great, large, much. n.s.m. (subst.)* 123; *n.s.f.* 42; *g.s.n. miceles* 33;

d.s.f. micelre 115, 122

micelnes *f. greatness. g.s.* 58

mid *prep. w. d. with.* 5, 61, 131, 140, 141, 146; *adv. mit ty (þe) when, after this, then.* 19, 27, 32, 37, etc.

midd *adj. middle, amidst. d.s. (on) middum* 22, 30

midd *adv. in the middle of, amidst. on middes* 28

miht *f. might, power. a.s.* 134

min *poss. adj. my, mine. n.s.m.* 100, 144; *g.s.m. mines* 1, 80, 93; *d.s.m.*

minum 82; *a.s.m. minne* 42, 56, 97; *g.s.n. mines* 127; *a.s.m. min* 52;

a.p.m. mine 145; *d.p.m. minum* 39; *d.p.n. minum* 52; *d.p.f. minum* 73;
a.p.n. mine 126

mit ty → *mid*.

mod n. mind. g.s. modes 33

næfre adv. never. 8, 26

nære → *wesan*.

nama m. name. n.s. 48; *d.s. naman* 97, 104, 120; *a.s. naman* 97, 102, 137

nan (= ne an) adj. not any. *n.s.m.* 126, 127, 132; *n.p.f. nane* 124

ne adv. not, nor. 2, 27, 64, 72, 94, 101, 124, 127; *ne ... ne* neither ...
 nor 94

neah adv. near. 94; *adj., superl d. .s. nihstan* 143

nealecan 1. draw near. *pres.* 3 *.sg. nealæceð* 86

nigōþa adj. ninth. *a.s.f. nigōþan* 35

nihstan → *neah*.

geniman IV. take. *imp.* 2 *sg. nym* 82; *pret.* 3 *sg. genam* 117

nis (= ne is) → beon-wesan.

noht adv. not at all. 132

nu adv. now. 41, 92, 117, 125, 131, 136, 138

of prep. w. d. from. 48, 49, 73, 75 (with), 91, 96; *w. i. (usually w. d.) from.*
 91

ofer prep. w. a. over. 20

ofercuman IV. overcome. *inf.* 121

on prep. w. d. on, upon, in, into. 5, 18, 19, 21, 25, etc.; *w. a.* 33, 47, 50,
 75, etc.

onælan 1. set fire. *inf.* 18

ond see *and*.

ondrædan VII dread, fear, be afraid. *pres.* 1 *sg. ondræde* 27; 2 *sg. ondrætst* 2
onfeng → *onfon*.

onfon VII. receive, accept. *pres.* 1 *sg. onfo* 79; 3 *sg. onfehð* 87; 3 *pl. onfoð*
 80, 105; *pret.* 1 *sg. onfeng* 57; *pret.* 3 *sg. onfeng* 121

ongean prep. w. a. against. 128

ongiētan V. understand, perceive. *imp. sg. ongit* 52

onginnan III. begin. *pret.* 3 *sg. ongan* 90

onlysan 1. liberate, redeem. *inf.* 70

onmiddan prep. w. d. in the middle of, amidst. 16, 22

onsecgan 3. sacrifice. *inf.* 40; *imp. sg. onsaga* 52

onsendan 1. send forth. *pret.* 3 sg. **onsende** 144

ontynan 1. open. *p. ptc. pl.* **ontynde** 121

orc *m.* flagon, vessel. *a.s.* **orcas** 20

oð *prep. w. a.* until. 35, 63, 138; *conj.* **oð þæt** until 61

oðer *adj.* next. *d.s.m.* **oðre** 51, 111

rædan 1. read. *subj.* 3 sg. **ræde** 146

reðe *adj.* fierce, cruel. *compar., i.s.* **reðre** 21; *superl., d.s.n.,* **reðestan** 23

rice *n.* kingdom. *a.s.* 126; *g.s.* **rices** 127

rihtlice *adv.* rightly, justly. 103

ricsian 2. rule, reign. *pres.* 3 sg **rixað** 141

rose *f* rose. *g.s.* **rosan** 32

scamol, -ull *m.* bench, stool. *n.s.* 29; *a. s.* 15

sceotan II. shoot. *pret.* 3 *pl.* **scuton** 75

scotian 2. shoot. *pret.* 3 *pl.* **scotedon** 62; *pret. subj.* 3 *pl.* **scotedon** 61

sculan *pret. pres.* must, have to, ought to. *pres.* 2 sg. **scealt** 49

scuton → **sceotan**

scyppend *m.* creator. *n.s.* 3

se, seo, þæt *dem. prn., def. art.* who, which, the one that. *n.s.m.* **se** 2, 3, 9, 11, 14, 22, etc.; *g.s.m.* **þæs** 15, 28, 33, 35, 58, etc. (through the agency of?); *d.s.m.* **þam** 7, 10, 23, 66, 71, etc.; *a.s.m.* **þone** 17, 22, 30, 51, 56; *i.s.* (*w. compar., the, by that*) **þe** 21 (2x), *i.s.m.* **þy** 70, 88; *n.p.m.* **þa** 6 (2x), 62, 112; *d.p.m.* **þam** 68, 75, 89, 106; *a.p.m.* **þa** 10; *n. s. n.* **þæt** 69, 108; *g.s.n.* **þæs** 19, 21, 45 (used adverbially), 108, 117, 128; *d.s.n.* **þam** 23 (2x), 31, 95; *a.s.n.* **þæt** 15, 18, 32, 36, 76; *a.p.n.* **þas, þa** 74, 75, 139, 145; *n.s.f.* **seo** 86; *d.s.f.* **þære** 10, 19, 35, 59, 62, 78, 82, 85, 101, 107, 113, 120, 130; *g.s.f.* **þære** 111; *a.s.f.* **þa** 16, 35, 81; *n.p.f.* **þa** 63; *g.p.* **þara** 50

searwe *f.* craft, art, contrivance. *n.p.* **searwa** 124; *a.p.* **searwa** 129

self *prn., adj.* self. *n.s.m.* **selfa** 43. [see **sylf**]

sellan 1. give. *imp.* 2 sg. **syle** 145

sendan 1. send. *pres.* 1 sg. **sende** 126; *pret.* 3 sg. **sende** 67

geseon V. see. *inf.* 112; *pret.* 3 sg. **geseah** 30, 31, 32, 36, 76; *p. ptc.* **gesett** 112

setlgang *m.* setting (of the sun). *d.s.* **setlgange** 67

settan 1. set, put. *inf.* 5; *pres.* 3 sg. **sette** 119; *imp.* 2 sg. **sete** 84; *p. ptc.* **gesett** 112

- gesettan* 1. set, put, place. 3 *pl.* *gesettaþ* 81
sigor m. victory. *a.s.* 79
gesihþ f. sight. *a.s.* *gesihþe* 121
slean VI. kill, slay. *p. ptc.* *slegen* 107
soðfæstnes f. truthfulness. *a.s.* *soðfæstnesse* 116
soðlice adv. truly. 131
spræc f. speech, utterance. *n.s.* 105
standan VI. stand. *pres. ptc.* *standende* 31
stefn f. voice. *n.s.* 99; *d.s.* *stefne* 24
stemn f. voice. *d.s.* *stemne* 115, 122
stow f. place. *d.s.* *stowe* 113; *a.s.* *stowe* 81
stræl m./f. arrow. *n.p.* *strælas* 63; *d.p.* *strælum* 61, 74, 75
strynan 1. obtain. *pret.* 3 *sg.* *gestrynde* 109
sunne f. sun. *g.s.* *sunnan* 67
sunu m. son. *d.s.* *sunu* 141; *a.s.* 141
swa adv. thus, so. 34, 39, 45, 53, 54, 68, 133; *conj.* *as.* 29; *swa hwyllice*
 ... *swa* whatsoever 101; *swa hwylc(e)re* ... *swa* whatsoever 93, 98;
 swa hwæs swa for whatsoever 103
sweord n. sword. *d.s.* *swyrde* 131
swette adj. sweet. *compar., n.p.* *swettran* 13
swingan III. flog. *inf.* 4; *pret.* 3 *pl.* *swungon* 6
swylce adv. like. 32
swyðra adj. right. *d.s.f.* *swyðran* 66
sybb f. peace, concord. *d.s.* *sybbe* 140
sylf prn. himself. *n.s.m.* 79
sylf adj. same. *d.s.f.* *sylfan* 47, 85
symle adv. always. 55
synn f. sin. *d.p.* *synnum* 103
synt → *beon-wesan*.

tear m. tear. *d.p.* *tearum* 146
templ n. temple. *d.s.* *temple* 95
teona m. harm, injury. *a.s.* *teonan* 47, 55
tid f. time. *n.s.* 86; *d.s.* *tide* 10, 35, 47, 62, 78, 85, 92, 99, 121, 131, 144;
 a.s. *tide* 35
tintreg m. torment. *n.p.* *tintrego* 13, 25; *d.p.* *tintregum* 53; *a.p.* *tintrego* 27
tintregian 2. torment, torture. *inf.* 8

to *prep.* w. *d.* to. 7, 11, 24, 25, 37, etc.; w. *inf.* 17, 52; w. *infl. inf.* 136; to

þon so that, in order that 129

tosomne *adv.* together. 4, 119

treow *n.* tree. *a.s.* 58

twegen *num.* two. *n.p.f.* twa 75

twelf *num.* twelve. 16

tyhtan 1. incite, urge, persuade. *pres.* 2 *sg.* tyhtest 39

tyn *num.* ten. 20

þa *adv.* then. 3, 6, 9, 13, 14, 36, etc.; *conj.* when 22, 29, 71

þær *adv.* there. 17, 20, 34, 96, etc.; *conj.* where 113, 117

þæron *adv.* thereon. 60

þæt *conj.* that, so that. 18, 20, 32, 34, etc.

þaette *conj.* that. 93, 126, 134

þe *indecl. rel. part.* who, which, that. 3, 6, 8, 19, 25, etc.

þeah *adv.* although. 100

þegn *m.* retainer, warrior. *d.p.* þegnum 111

þeow *m.* servant. *n.s.* 92, 100

þes *m.*, þeos *f.*, þis *n. dem. prn.* this. *d.s.m.* þyssum 125; *a.s.m.* þyssne 138; *i.s.m.* þys, ðis 46, 78; *d.s.n.* þissum 49; *g.s.m.* þyses 143; *a.s.n.* þis 28 38, 120; *n.s.f.* þeos 105; *d.s.f.* þisse, þysse 47; *i.s.m.* þys 48; *n.p.m.* þas 25; *n.p.n.* þas 74; *d.p.m/f/n.* þyssum 73, 89

þin *poss. adj.* your. *n.s.m.* þin 48, 92, 100; *g.s.m.* þines 102, 116; *d.s.m.* þinum 96, 104; *a.s.m.* þinne 45, 50; *n.s.n.* þin 100; *d.s.n.* þinum 95; *a.s.n.* þin 27, 72, *d.s.f.* þinre 25, 26; *n.p.m.* þine 13; *a.p.m.* þine 27; *d.p.f.* þinum 95, 96; *d.p.m.* þine 84; *g.p.n.* þinra 85; *a.p.n.* þine 55

þing *n.* thin. *g.p.* þinga 2

þonne *conj.* w. *compar.* than. 13; *adv.* then. 46, 82, 84, 125, 129

þrowian 2. suffer. *pres. ptc.* þrowigende 118

þrowung *f.* suffering. *a.p.* þrowunga 145

þry *num. adj.* three. *a.m.* þry 60

þu *prn.* you. *n.s.* 1, 2, 7, 8, 12, etc.; *d.s.* þe 50, 56, 96; *a.s.* þe 73, 92

þurh *prep.* through, by means of. 42, 50, 65, 76, etc.

þus *adv.* thus. 8

þusend *num.* thousand. *n.p.m.* þusenda 110

þyder *adv.* thither. 57

þyllic *adj.* such. *a.s.m.* þyllicne 9

pywan 1. press. *p. ptc.* gepywed 29

unasecgendlic *adj.* unimaginable. *d.s.n.* unasecgendlican 107

unmæte *adj.* immense, enormous. *g.s.f.* unmætre 58; *superl. a.s.n.*

unmætoste 18; *superl., d.s.n.* unmætostan 23

unsnotor *adj.* unwise. *n.s.m.* 2

untrum *adj.* sick, infirm. *n.p.m.* untrume 95

untrumnes *f.* infirmity. *d.s.* untrumnesse 98

unwemme *adj.* without blemish, undefiled. *a.s.* unwemne 56

uparisan 1. rise up. *inf.* 36; *pret.* 3 *sg.* uparas 37

upwæstm *n.* stature. *d.s.* upwæstme 15

utgan *anom.* go out. *pres. ptc.* utgangende 71

uton (1 *pl. subj. of witan w. inf.*) let us. 111

wædl *f.* want, poverty. *n.s.* 94

wælgrim(m) *adj.* cruel. *n.s. (subst.)* wælgrimma 77

wælhreowlice *adv.* cruelly. 8

wær → beon-wesan.

wæs → beon-wesan.

wafung *f.* amazement, wonder. *a.s.* wafunga 33

weax *n.* wax. *n.s.* 29

wen *f.* hope, expectation. *n.s.* 44

wenan 1. think, expect. *pret.* 3. *sg.* wende 63, 69

weorðan III. become. *p. ptc.* geworden 3, 10, 29, 133

wer *m.* man. *a.p.* weras 10

wesan *anon.* be. *inf.* 49. → beon.

wiht *f/n/* creature. *n.s.* wuht 127

wilddeor *n.* wild animal, wild beast. *n.s.* 37

willa *m.* will, desire. *a.s.* willan 128, 135

willan *anon.* wish, desire, will. *subj.* 3 *sg.* wolde 21, 70

wind *m.* wind. *d.s.* winde 66

gewinn *n.* struggle, fight, labor. *g.p.* gewinna 87

wisdom *m.* wisdom. *a.s.* 91

witan *pres. pret.* know. *pres.* 1 *sg.* wat 131; *imp.* 2 *sg.* wite 46, 77, 86

witan 1. depart. → uton.

wite *n.* torment, punishment. *a.p.* witu 12

witnian 2. punish. *pret.* 3 *sg.* witnode 131

wið *prep. w. a.* with. 83

wiðsacan VI (*w.d.*). renounce, forsake, reject. *subj.* 1 *sg.* wiðsace 46

word *n.* word. *a.s.* word 52; *a.p.* word 74; *d.p.* wordum 89

wrecan V. wreak, avenge. *prss.* 1 *sg.* wrece 47

wuht → **wiht**.

wuldor *n.* glory. *d.s.* wuldre 107

wuldorfæst *adj.* glorious. *n.s.m. (subst.)* 123

wuldorgeworc *n.* glorious work. *g.s.* wuldorgeworces 124; *n.p.* wuldorgeworc 136

wuldorlic *adj.* wonderful. *n.s.f.* wuldorlice 105

wundor *n.* wonder, miracle. *n.s.* 108

gewyrcean 1. perform, make. *pres.* 3 *sg.* wyrcð 138; *pret.* 3 *sg.* geworhte 137

wyrsa *comp. adj.* worse. *superl. n.s.m.* wyrresta 37

ylcan *prn., adj.* same. *d.s.f.* ylcan 130

yrre *n.* anger. *n.s.* 8, *a.s.* 3, 27

JANE ROBERTS

Two Readings in the Guthlac Homily

THE EDITORIAL HISTORY OF Homily XXIII of the Vercelli Book, most recently edited by Don Scragg,¹ goes back to C. W. Goodwin's 1848 *editio princeps* of the Life of Guthlac contained in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D. xxi. Goodwin was able to cite in his notes "all the variations of importance," thanks to the "kindness of Mr. Benjamin Thorpe,"² but the first printed text of the Guthlac homily did not appear until P. Gonser's 1909 edition of both Life and homily.³ Gonser prints the homily in parallel with the corresponding chapters of the late eleventh-century Life, including at the foot of the page selections from Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci* chosen to display their source. His comparisons of the English texts with one another and with the selections from the *vita* reveal that a fuller and much different original translation lay behind the Life. His collations show that words, phrases, and even sentences have disappeared from it and from the homily, and, on the evidence of the parallel parts, at different times and to different ends. Clearly, the Life and homily

¹ D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o.s. 300 (Oxford, 1992), 383-92.

² Charles Wycliffe Goodwin, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland* (London, 1848), v.

³ Paul Gonser, ed., *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, Anglistische Forschungen 27 (Heidelberg, 1909).

have undergone separate and considerable revision, but together they imply a fuller original translation than could be surmised if only one were extant. The homily, which must have reached the form in which it survives by the last decades of the tenth century, is obviously a popularisation of the central events of the legend. It has the feel almost of a performance text, its syntax to a great extent freed of the Latin-hugging sentence structures that can be still more clearly seen in the *Vespasian Life*.

The curious result of the independent shaping of these two texts is that each preserves structures modelled upon the Latin where the other shows simplification or an attempt at simplification. Although carelessness may be invoked to explain loss or change in the homily, the parallel parts of the *Vespasian Life* suggest that an old-fashioned text was subjected to thoughtful revision, to bring it more or less into line with the norms of late eleventh-century West Saxon. Evidences remain, both in vocabulary and in morphology, of the underlying older and more northerly original,⁴ but the words and syntactical forms unnatural to late West Saxon are generally replaced by others more familiar, and unusual dialect forms and spellings were for the most part covered over by late West Saxon characteristics. Difficulties were rationalized, or discarded. Indeed, but for the existence of the *Vercelli homily*, it would be impossible to guess that so radical an overhaul had been undertaken.⁵

Homily XXIII was first edited in its own right, rather than as an auxiliary to the *Vespasian Life*, by P. Szarmach,⁶ whose *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII* gave the Toronto Dictionary of Old English project reliable working texts for those homilies not edited by M. Förster.⁷ Szarmach's text sparked off H. Pilch's "sentence-analytical edition" which, by confronting "the mixture of syntactic and asyntactic modes of cohesion," seeks to avoid "a number of unexplained *cruces* and the need for many emendations" he finds "gratuitously" produced in conventionally edited texts.⁸

⁴ Jane Roberts, "Traces of Unhistorical Gender Congruence in a Late Old English Manuscript," *English Studies* 51 (1970): 30-37.

⁵ Jane Roberts, "The Old English Prose Translation of Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci*" in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), 363-79.

⁶ Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1981).

⁷ Max Förster, ed., *Die Vercelli-Homilien: I-VIII. Homilie*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 12 (Hamburg, 1932).

⁸ Herbert Pilch, "The Last *Vercelli Homily*: A Sentence Analytical Edition," in *Historical Linguistics and Philology*, ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin and New York, 1990), 297-336, here 302.

Don Scragg's definitive *The Vercelli Homilies*, in giving us a fully edited text supported by glossary, makes it possible to read the homily afresh. In this paper I should like to re-examine two of the emendations made in his edition, drawing into my discussion some consideration of Pilch's edition, which appeared while Scragg's was in press.

1. "big fer[c]ede" (lines 81-82)

In Scragg's edition the fuller context runs "ac þa feng to þære teala myclan andleofone, þæt wæs to þam berenan hlafe, 7 þone geþygde 7 his feorh big fer[c]ede" and is to be compared with the Vespasian "ac þa feng to þam médmýcclan bigleofan, þæt wæs to þam berenan hláfe, and þone bigede and his lif bileofode."⁹ Each passage relates at some remove to Felix's "tunc adsumpta ordeacei panis particula victum suum cotidianum vesci coepit."¹⁰ The differences in wording can be put down to the differing transmission history of each version, yet their common ancestry is clear from the phrasing of the final two clauses.

The Vespasian reading "lif bileofode" presents no problems. The construction *bi libban* is well attested, and indeed occurs once earlier in the Vespasian Life, in a passage not present in the homily:

þæt he nawiht ne onbyrigde buton berene hlaf and wæter; and
þonne sunne wæs on setle, þonne bigede he þa [MS þæs] andly-
fene, þe he bigleofode.¹¹

Goodwin, followed by Gonser, chose to emend the Vercelli homily's "gemetegung" into the preceding clauses of the Vespasian Life, arguing that the phrase "to gereorde" of the homily "does not agree with the original, and is tautologous."¹² It is interesting to place the two passages alongside Felix's wording, but with the manuscript reading "to gereorde" reinstated in the life and the interloping Vercelli "gemetegung" dismissed:

⁹ Gonser, *Guthlac*, 126, lines 84-88, with "to þam" an editorial addition adopted from Goodwin's edition.

¹⁰ Bertram Colgrave, ed., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956; repr. Cambridge, 1985), 100 (§ xxx).

¹¹ Gonser, *Guthlac*, 118, lines 29-30 to 119, lines 1-2.

¹² Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac*, 111.

Felix's *vita*

Cotidianae ergo vitae
 ipsius tanta tempe-
 rantia fuit, vt ab illo
 tempore, quo heremum
 habitare coeperat, ex-
 cepta ordeacei panis
 particula et lutulentae
 aquae poculamento
 post solis occasum,
 nullius alicuius alimen-
 ti usibus vesceretur.
 Nam cum sol occiduis
 finibus vergeretur, tunc
 annonam parvam mor-
 talis vitae cum
 gratiarum actione
 gustabat.¹³

Vespasian Life

Ælce dæge wæs his
 bigleofan swylc to ge-
 reorde of þære tide,
 þe he þæt westen
 eardigan ongan, þæt
 he nawiht ne
 onbyrigde buton
 berene hlaf and
 wæter; and þonne
 sunne wæs on setle,
 þonne þigede he þa
 andlyfene, þe he big-
 leofode.¹⁴

Vercelli homily

Ælce dæge wæs his
 ondleofenes swylc
 gemetegung of þære
 tide, þe he þæt
 westen ærest eardi-
 gean began . . .¹⁵

Certainly “gemetegung” answers to the “temperantia” of Felix’s *vita* and was therefore very likely the choice of the original translator, but should it be emended into the later text? Some phrases used by Felix in an earlier chapter of the *vita*, “utriusque sinceritatem; omnium temperantiam, cunctorum suauitatem” include *temperantia*, but there is nothing corresponding in the Old English Life,¹⁶ and Felix’s only other instance of the noun *temperantia* is rendered loosely.¹⁷ The noun *gemetegung* occurs elsewhere

¹³ Colgrave, *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac*, 94 (§ xxviii). Note how close this text is to that in section xxx (above n. 10). This is a “desert father” topos, as in Cassian *Coll.* 1.8.1 (PL 49. 712C) and Jerome, *Vita Pauli Eremitae* 6 (PL 23. 21B).

¹⁴ Gonser, *Guthlac*, 118, lines 24–30 to 119, lines 31–32.

¹⁵ Gonser’s parallel text for the homily is cited here. Note that Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 382–83, at this point inserts Vespasian material into his edition of the homily.

¹⁶ Colgrave, *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac*, 86 § xxiii; compare Gonser, *Guthlac*, 112, line 102.

¹⁷ Colgrave, *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac*, 84 § xxi; compare Gonser, *Guthlac*, 111, lines 87–91, where the notion of moderation is implicit within the adjective “gemetfæst”.

in the Vercelli homilies,¹⁸ so it rather looks as if a word current in the latter part of the tenth century was for some reason discarded by the redactor of the Vespasian Life. Conversely, should the Vespasian text be called upon to supply material absent in the earlier excerpted homily? In this passage Scragg emends clauses from the later Life into the homily, noting the likelihood of homeoteleuton. By contrast, Pilch, who does not look to the Vespasian text for clarification, accepts the homily text as it stands and finds the focus to be "on Guthlac's decision as regards his clothing."¹⁹ A major problem presented by the Guthlac homily to its editors is how far it should be emended according to the content the Vespasian Life shares with Felix's *vita*.

But the problem under discussion is the verb of the homily clause "7 his feorh big fer[c]ede." Goodwin records the parallel Vercelli passage without comment in his notes,²⁰ but for Gonser, charged with editing both Life and homily, it proved a stumbling-block. He could find no other example of a verb "bigferede".²¹ The emendation adopted by Scragg was first put forward by Otto Schlutter, and rests on comparison with *fercian* "to support" (a verb which Schlutter gives a long vowel, comparing it with *feran*).²² Schlutter also advances a possible comparison with the German construction *ein Leben führen*, but, unable to find in Old English any use of *for* in the sense "food" to parallel OHG *fuora* and MHG *vuore*, abandons this explanation. Ida Geisel, in her glossary for the prose Guthlac texts, identifies a weak verb *bigferian* "ernähren",²³ a meaning that may owe as much to the phrasing of the Vespasian Life as the preceding discussion. Criticizing Schlutter's linking of *fercian* to *feran*, J.H. Kern argues for "big ferede",²⁴ identifying the verb as *ferian* and adding English and Dutch phrases *to lead a life* and *een leven leide* in corroboration of the German construction Schlutter saw as comparable. F. Holthausen also

¹⁸ Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 137, lines 113, 115.

¹⁹ Pilch, "The Last Vercelli Homily," 315–16. The editions of Goodwin and Gonser seem not to have been used by Pilch.

²⁰ Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac*, 113.

²¹ Gonser, *Guthlac*, 183.

²² Otto B. Schlutter, "AE. *hyrþ* 'pellis' = *bocfell*," *Englische Studien* 46 (1910): 323–28, here 324.

²³ Ida Geisel, *Sprache und Wortschatz der altenglischen Guthlacübersetzung* (Basel, 1915).

²⁴ J. H. Kern, "Altenglische Varia," *Englische Studien* 51 (1917–1918): 1–15, here 7.

counters Schlutter's connection of *fercian* with *feran*, suggesting that "bigferede" should be related to *ferian*.²⁵ Pilch offers:

and þone geþygde and his feorh bifereðe

[and ate it saving his life²⁶]

thereby accepting some such sense as "support, sustain". Such a metaphorical extension is paralleled in the phrase "synd geferude" used once to gloss "nituntur".²⁷ Of the two verbs (*ge*)*fercian* and (*ge*)*ferian*, (*ge*)*ferian* is the commoner, with 260 or more attestations for Old English, overwhelmingly involving movement and transport. By contrast, there are only ten (or eleven, should emendation to *fer[c]ede* be accepted here) instances of *fercian*. Although transport and movement are again among the senses covered, the preponderance of forms have the meaning "to support / sustain / nourish".²⁸ Nevertheless my inclination is conservative: to retain the reading of the manuscript. The limited distribution of (*a*)*fercian* and *fercung* in Old English would seem to reinforce this choice.²⁹

2. '[h]recetunge' (line 126)

The second emendation I have chosen to discuss appears in a passage without parallel in the *Vespasian Life*:

7 nalas þæt an þæt he þær þa leglican hyðe ðæs fyres upþyðdan
geseah, [ac] eac þa fulan [h]recetunge swefles þær geseah up-
geotan.³⁰

²⁵ F. Holthausen, "Zur englischen Wortkunde. III," *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 32 (1921): 17–23, here 21.

²⁶ Pilch, "The Last Vercelli Homily," 324–25. The text and translation here follow Pilch's presentation. Szarmach's text, 98, line 63, reads "7 þone geþygde 7 his feorh bigferede."

²⁷ Cited from *Dictionary of Old English: Old English Corpus* (corpus@doe.utoronto.ca): OccGl 53.2 6.

²⁸ The cognate noun is recorded once in *Ælfric* of "food, provisions, sustenance" and twice in the *Rule of Chrodegang* of "sustaining, support". I am indebted to Professor Healey and her colleagues for access to materials currently being edited at the Dictionary.

²⁹ The form *afercian* is attested once only.

³⁰ Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 390, lines 125–127. MS: "7" for "ac"; "receastunge" for "[h]recetunge".

The cut, and cut I would assume it is rather than a case of careless omission, is in line with a tendency towards the simplification of narrative that is noteworthy in the Vespasian text when it is placed alongside the full text of Felix's *vita*. The corresponding clauses in Felix are impressively ornate:

Non solum enim fluctuantium flammaram ignivomos gurgites illic
turgescere cerneres, immo etiam sulphurei glaciali grandine mixti
vortices, globosis sparginibus sidera paene tangentes videbantur;

[For not only could one see there the fiery abyss swelling with surging flames, but even the sulphurous eddies of flame mixed with icy hail seemed almost to touch the stars with drops of spray.]³¹

The compiler behind the Vespasian Life may have cancelled this passage either because of its complexity or because of the density in it of obsolescent words. Curiously, the text cited by Goodwin, "and eac þa (r. þæs) fullan swefles þær geseah upgeotan," seems to have suffered a striking degree of rationalisation: perhaps Thorpe already saw the need for emendation.³²

The replacing of "7" by "ac" goes back to Gonser, a piece of tidying that brings the passage into line with two places where the homily retains *ac* in succession to *nalæs þæt* (*an þæt*).³³ The tendency to substitute "7" for more complex connectives is a well-marked feature of both the homily and the Life.³⁴ Arguably, therefore, "7" should not be emended here but retained as better reflecting the choices of the homily: the emendation of *ac* into the text seems prescriptive, as if foisting on the homily the more formal structures of the antecedent translation. For the manuscript "re-ceastunge" Gonser prints "reecas tunge" in his text and, noting the difficulty of understanding "tunge" in this context, makes no attempt to emend the text.³⁵ Schlutter puts forward *hræcetung*, which he explains by

³¹ Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, 104–5.

³² Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac*, 116.

³³ Gonser, *Guthlac*, 121, lines 91–93 and 123, lines 20–21 to 124, lines 22–25.

³⁴ Keiko Ikegami, "On Syndetic Parataxis: Its Tentative Analyses and their Application to *The Life of Guthlac*," *Seijo Tankidaigaku Kiyo* 18 (1987): 1–51, here 47, points out that the "[a]bundant use of 'and's would not make the expression clumsy or primitive but easy to understand."

³⁵ Gonser, *Guthlac*, 183.

"vomitus", as suitable contextually, suggesting that behind "receas tunge" lay some such form as **receætunge*. He argues imaginatively that the homily passage looks like a translation of:

Neque solum ibi flammaticas ignis undas turgescere vidit, sed etiam foetidos sulphuris vomitus spargi in aerem.

Conveniently, this rewriting of Felix allows him to speculate that the translator had *vomitus* before him rather than "vortices", or that, thinking that he saw *vomitus*, the translator simply omitted to translate the phrase "glaciali grandine mixti."³⁶ Geisel enters "receastunge" as one word under the headword *rec* without identifying its case or number, equating the form with "hræcetunge" and referring the reader to Schlutter. Holthausen, objecting to Schlutter's explanation of the form, suggests that behind "tunge" lay "steorran getenge", an ingenious solution that has in its favour its reference to the wording of the *vita* rather than to a new sentence composed to justify an emendation.³⁷ The manuscript "7" is reinstated in Szarmach's text, and he prints "receas tunge" without comment.³⁸ Pilch, again setting himself the task of working from the homily as in the manuscript, seems at first sight to have tumbled on a solution:

— and *nalæs* þæt an þæt he þær þa leglican hyðe ðæs fyres
 up þyddan geseah, and eac þa fulan receas
 — tunge swefles —
 þær geseah up-geotan —

[— and just that one thing (he was aware of, namely) that
 he saw "thud up" the burning height of the fire
 (Felix: *ignivomos gurgites*), and also the foul vapours
 — a tongue of sulphur indeed —
 he saw creep up.]³⁹

³⁶ Schlutter, "AE. *hyrþ* 'pellis' = *bocfell*," 324–25.

³⁷ Holthausen, "Zur englischen Wortkunde. III," 21.

³⁸ Szarmach, *Vercelli Homilies IX–XXIII* 99, lines 98–99.

³⁹ Pilch, "The Last Vercelli Homily," 330–31. Pilch notes (314) his use in his Old English text of roman type for "those sentential particles and bearers of lexical relations which we focus on." In accordance with the overall book design, there are no length marks throughout my paper.

Pointing out that the focus is on what Guthlac sees, Pilch takes “*þa fulan receas*” and “*tunge swe fles*” as “a co-ordinate group” within a larger group of clauses in which the verb “*geseah*” occurs four times. He interprets “*hyðe*” as “a spelling for *hieþe* (nom.pl.) with loss of *h*,” altogether bypassing the simpler possibility that it may represent *yðe* “waves” with initial *h*.

Scragg very sensibly points out that the manuscript reading “makes no sense since *tunge* (nominative singular) is stranded grammatically.” He argues that the context misled the scribe “into expecting ‘fumes’ after the adjective *fulan*” and that “[f]oul vomiting of sulphur” parallels in form and content ‘fiery surges of flame’ in the previous clause.”⁴⁰ However, instead of “[h]recetunge” I should like to advance the reading “*ræscetunge*”. To the eye it has much to commend it: there is no need to abandon the *-s-* in the manuscript reading; and the same justifications, either of fronting of the stressed vowel or of expectation of a plural form of the word *rec*, can be advanced for it as for [h]*ræcetunge*, should the form *rescetunge* be thought preferable. Moreover, the equation of *hræcetung* with *vomit* seems to be supported only by Schlutter’s reading it into this passage: the word typically occurs in medical contexts with meanings analogous to “retching”. Semantically *ræscetung* “coruscation, gleam of lightning” is therefore more appropriate to Felix’s heady description of hell. Cognate with *ræsc* “a heavy shower”, *ligræsc* and *ligetræsc* “lightning, etc.”, and *ræscan* “to move quickly” and *ræscettan* “to crackle”, the noun *ræscetung* occurs in glosses both in simplex form and as the second element of the compound *ligræscetung* in Old English.⁴¹ Interestingly, the poet of *Judgement Day II* uses the related verb *ræscettan* “to crackle, flicker, coruscate” twice; first of hell fire:

⁴⁰ Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, 394.

⁴¹ *Dictionary of Old English* citations: The simplex is found in: AldV 1 (Goossens) C31.1 / 1.[4294 (4301)] *coruscationes ræscetunga* *Coruscatio hræscetung*; AldV 10 (Nap) C31.10 / 1.[0328 (328)] *coruscationes ræscetunge*; AldV 13.1 (Nap) C31.13.1 / 1.[4431 (4423)] *coruscationes ræscetunga*; and the compound in: PsGII (Lindelöf) C7.11 1.[2359 (143.6)] *Onæletu ligetu lyghræscetunge ligræsc þu todræfst ðu tostæncest hig asend flana þine & þu todræfest hig Fulgura choruscationem et dissipabis eos emitte sagittas tuas et conturbabis eos*; PsGII (Lindelöf) C7.11 / 1.[0196 (17.15)] & he asende flana his & he tostencte hig ligettas ligrescetunga he gemænifylde & he gedrefde hi Et misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos fulgura multiplicauit et conturbauit eos.

Ðonne fyren lig blaw·eð and braslað,
 read and reðe, ræsct and efesteð,
 hu he synfullum susle gefrem·m·e;⁴²

and again of the terrible torrent at the end of the world:

Ð·æ·t reðe flod ræscet fyre
 and biterlice bærnð ða earman saula
 and heora heortan horxlice wyrmas,
 synscyldigra, ceorfað and slitað.⁴³

At any rate it rather looks as if both *ræscetung* and *ræscettan* were suitable for hell contexts.

In a birthday paper for Don Scragg it seemed appropriate to reconsider two perplexing readings in the Guthlac homily of the Vercelli Book, the text where our interests coincide most closely. So far as the first is concerned, frequencies indicate that his editorial decision is very likely in the right. With the second, who can say? But I hope to have entertained him through an exploration of varied tactics adopted in both cases and by arguing, in the case of the second, for a reading perhaps simpler to envisage in copying terms than the "[h]recetunge" of his edition.

⁴² Graham D. Caie, ed., *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II'* (Cambridge, 2000), lines 152–155, which he translates: "Then the fiery flame will blow and crackle,| red and angry; it will crackle and hasten| to prepare punishment for the sinful."

⁴³ Caie, *The Old English Poem 'Judgement Day II'*, lines 166–169, which he translates: "The raging flood will crackle with fire| and severely burn the wretched souls,| and serpents will swiftly| tear and slit the hearts of the sinful."

LOREDANA TERESI

Be Heofonwarum 7 be Helwarum: A Complete Edition¹

BE HEOFONWARUM 7 BE HELWARUM is a short Old English homily on Judgment Day preserved in two manuscripts from the transition period: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 302 (K) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A. ix (J).² Ker dates J to the first half of the twelfth century and K to a period between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth.³

The two manuscripts are related copies of an *Ælfrician temporale*, to which some anonymous items have been added. In K there are six any-

¹ This edition is the fruit of a Master's thesis completed in 1994 under the direction of D. G. Scragg (see below, n. 3). I am honoured to offer this work here in dedication to Professor Scragg.

² The homily has been previously edited by R. Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* 30 (Leipzig, 1935), and by T. C. Callison, "An Edition of Previously Unpublished Anglo-Saxon Homilies in MSS. CCCC 302 and Cotton Faustina A. IX" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973). Willard printed only part of the homily, since his interest in the text lay in only a few passages, while Callison's edition was never published. The sigla are those provided by D. G. Scragg, "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before *Ælfric*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 223–77.

³ Items 56 and 153 in Ker, *Catalogue*, 95–99 and 190–93. For further details see E. M. Treharne, "The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century," in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. M. Swan and eadem, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (Cambridge, 2000), 11–40, here 14–24; and Loredana Teresi, "An Edition of *Be Heofonwarum* and *be Helwarum*" (M.Phil. diss., University of Manchester, 1994).

mous homilies (items 10, 11, 12, 27, 31, and 33), of which four appear also in J (items 4, 5, 6, and 24, corresponding to K's 10, 11, 12, and 27), together with an additional one (item 23). K also contains a homily by Wulfstan (item 5). Some discrepancies between the two manuscripts are certainly due to accidental loss of material.⁴ *Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum*, which is item 10 in K and item 4 in J, was meant to be read on the third Sunday after Epiphany in K and on the fifth Sunday after Epiphany in J.

J is a collection of homilies for Sundays and festivals other than saints' days, starting from the second Sunday after Epiphany and covering the first half of the year up to Pentecost; but leaves are missing at the beginning, as well as at various other points, and it seems reasonable to think that in origin it must have begun with homilies for Advent, like K.⁵ The place of origin is unknown, although many scholars agree on a probable south-eastern provenance.⁶

The manuscript contains 197 leaves, 195 of which are original. The first two leaves were added in the sixteenth century, and were ignored by the first foliation, running in black ink in the top right corner of rectos. Pencil foliation, including the second parchment leaf as fol. 1, later replaced the ink one. The various folios are arranged in twenty-five quires of generally eight folios each.⁷ One quire is missing, and there are blank, unfoliated leaves in place of missing ones (between fols. 89-90 and fols. 160-161). According to Pope "leaves are missing at the beginning, probably nine leaves after fol. 50, one after fol. 102, one after fol. 159, probably none containing writings at the end."⁸ The page measures 230 × 150 mm. The text is arranged in a single column of twenty-four lines. The written space measures 190-95 × 111 mm. The bottom margin is always wider than the upper one, while the internal margin is sometimes wider and sometimes smaller than the external. Edges are very neat: they have obviously been cut and trimmed.

The script is twelfth-century protogothic minuscule with some Anglo-

⁴ See below.

⁵ See below.

⁶ See Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 50-51; Scragg, "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies," 246.

⁷ One contains four folios, and the last quire originally contained twelve, but the last three have been cut away.

⁸ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 48.

Saxon letter forms (f, r, s, æ, þ, ð, w, and d). Ker describes the hand as "untidy . . . lacking character, probably the same throughout, but it becomes smaller at fol. 166."⁹ Actually the dimensions of letters change frequently, and some letters have different shapes in different parts of the manuscript, mainly *g* and *s*, so much so that there seem to be two scribes at work, one to fol. 91v and the other from fol. 92r to the end.¹⁰ In the folios containing *Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum* individual minuscule letters with ascenders or descenders measure about 5–6 mm in height. *þ* is 8–9 mm, while letters without ascenders or descenders measure 3 mm.

The colour of the ink changes frequently, showing different hues of dark brown. Titles are in red, and some sentences begin with a capital letter filled with red. It is a variable colour, from bright to dark, nearly brown red. Each homily begins with a big decorated capital, coloured in bright green or red or both; the various initials are all different and display a variety of styles. The outer margin has been cut, as is evident in some instances (for example fols. 21v, 37v).

Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum begins on fol. 21v, l. 8 (in the third quire). Fol. 21v is in good condition, but the bottom left corner is damaged. The pricking is still visible in the extreme left margin. The ruling is in pencil, made up of one vertical line at each edge of the page, with horizontal lines going across them and past them on both sides. The bottom corner of fol. 22r is damaged; the ruling is visible but the pricking has been excised (as is the case for fol. 22v). Fol. 23 is in excellent condition: ruling and pricking are visible on both recto and verso; fol. 23v contains the last four lines of the text, followed by the beginning of the next homily.

The rubric is in brownish red ink, with the Latin in rustic capitals and the vernacular in a more rounded script than that of the text. It runs through two lines: the empty part of the last line of the preceding homily and the line below, partly covered by the upper part of the decorated initial. This is a nicely decorated capital *m* with brownish red curled branches and green leaves in the middle and at the sides (probably representing a vine). It is 20 mm high (33 mm with the descender) and 33 mm wide. The

⁹ Ker, *Catalogue*, 193.

¹⁰ See Callison, "An Edition of Previously Unpublished Anglo-Saxon Homilies," 23 and independently Teresi, "An Edition," 13–14.

left margin is cut, due to later binding and trimming. The following four letters (ENÐA) are in rustic capitals filled with brownish red. The capital letters — filled with red — in the text are: *Ure*, l. 13 in this edition; *Abredað*, l. 22; *þonne*, l. 26¹; *þonne*, l. 29; *þonne*, l. 31¹; *Sanctus Michahel*, l. 36; *þa*, l. 38; *Se*, l. 44; *He*, l. 49; *Wa*, l. 53; *þar*, l. 56; *Men*, l. 59; *Ute*, l. 63; *Sunne*, l. 68; *We*, l. 75; *Syllan*, l. 77.

The Tironian *nota* replaces *and* in most instances; *þæt* is abbreviated with the usual stroke across the ascender of *þ*; the final *-e* in *þonne* is abbreviated with a 7-shaped stroke, and *-m* is abbreviated by means of a curved stroke above *u* or *a*. The word *drihten* is abbreviated as *driht* with a stroke across the ascender of *h*, and *sanctus* is abbreviated in *nomen sacrum* form using the letters *scs* with a stroke above. Word division is generally regular, although occasionally pronouns, articles, and prepositions are attached to the following word. Accent marks appear sparingly on the following words: *ær*, *agan*, *aspiwð*, *þyströð*, *ece*, *fyr*, *gode*, *he*, *her*, *hus*, *gelædað*, *lif*, *gelyfan*, *Satanas*, *stowe*, *tacne*, *tocume*, *urum*, *us*, *ure*, *wa*, *wærlice*, *wituncstow*, and *wop*. They also appear in words with original short vowels, such as *dæg*, *gehnipes*, *hunger*, *mæg*, *storma*, and *þurst*. There are four different punctuation marks. The main point is made up of three dots in a somewhat pyramidal position, one of which has a long, s-shaped tail going downwards. It is always followed by a capital letter in-filled with red. The other marks do not seem to have differing functions. They all mark syntactic, psychological, or breathing pauses. The more complex of them (*punctus elevatus*) can be described as two dots, one on top of the other, the upper one having a tiny tail going upwards. The remaining marks are simple dots (*punctus simplex*), one on the line and one at mid height. On fol. 23r there are two hyphens marking word division at the end of a line (*yt-mestan*, *bu-tan*); and another one is on fol. 23v (*go-des*). In other instances words are split without indication. No corrections, glosses or marginalia are visible.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302 (K, xi/xii) contains almost the same items as J, with a few variations.¹¹ It covers the year from Advent to Rogationtide. It also includes a version of the *Hexameron*, and the

¹¹ Item 56 in Ker, *Catalogue*, 95–99. For further details see Treharne, "The Production and Script of Manuscripts," 14–20; H. Tristram, *Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition, mit Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar sowie drei weiteren Texten im Anhang* (Kassel, 1970), 99–103; and Teresi, "An Edition," 21–27.

homilies for St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist. It was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College by Archbishop Parker in 1575. The exact place of origin is unknown, but a similar provenance to that of J has been argued.¹²

The manuscript is made up of fourteen quires of eight folios each. The original Old English text begins on p. 11 with a decorated capital *i* and finishes on p. 232.¹³ The page measures 253 × 168 mm. The written space is 210 × 111 mm (117 if the space between the two vertical lines on the right edge is included). The text is arranged in a single column of 31 lines (26 in the supply leaves at the end). The pricking runs on the external margins. It consists of 31 holes, the exact number needed for the text. In some pages it has been cut away. The ruling is in hard point in the pages containing Old English script. Here it consists of double lines going across and straight on each side of the page, with parallel horizontal lines linking the internal pair of vertical lines (never stopping on the line, but never reaching the following one). The writing goes beyond the first vertical line of the right pair, but tends not to reach the second one. The ruling was done contemporaneously on facing pages, on every other pair, starting from the first page of each quire.

The script is protogothic minuscule with some Anglo-Saxon letter forms (*ð*, *þ*, *h*, *r*, *g*, *w*, *f*, *æ*, *d*, and occasionally *a*). It is very neat, tidy, and respectful of the margins: words never run over the line. In Ker's opinion it is in a single hand, apart from ll. 1–8 on p. 29. Tristram describes it as "klar, aufrecht, verhältnismäßig eng."¹⁴ Ascenders sometimes have a split top. Letters without ascenders or descenders measure 3–5 mm; letters with ascenders 4–5 mm; letters with descenders about 6 mm and letters with both 7–8 mm.

The ink is dark brown, but is not uniform throughout the manuscript, not even throughout the same page or word. It is black in the supply leaves. Rubrics are in red ink. The first letter of each sentence is consistently in-filled with colour, mainly red, but also brownish-red with silver-purple and, at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript, grey-purple and red. Initials are in red, grey-purple, green, mauve, or green and mauve.

¹² See Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 52, and below.

¹³ The first six and the last eight folios were added in Parker's time.

¹⁴ Tristram, *Vier altenglische Predigten*, 99–100.

Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum is in the last two folios of the fourth quire, starting on p. 71. The rubric begins on l. 7, and here too covers two lines: the blank part of the concluding line of the preceding text and the line below, the beginning of which contains the upper part of the enlarged initial with which the text begins on l. 9. Both the Latin and the Old English are written in a half-uncial script. The initial is in bright red ink. It has a simple, straight appearance¹⁵ and runs through four lines. It is 27 mm high and 30 mm long. All the letters in the first line of text are filled with red (apart from the initial M), and so are all capital letters in the text (*Ure*, l. 13; *Abredað*, l. 22; *þonne*, ll. 26, 29, 33; *Sanctus*, l. 36; *Ða*, l. 38; *Se*, l. 44; *Swa*, l. 46; *He*, l. 49; *Wa*, l. 53; *þær*, l. 54; *Ðar*, l. 56; *Men*, l. 59; *Ute*, l. 63; *Forðam*, l. 65; *Sunne*, l. 68; *We*, l. 75; *Eal*, l. 75; *Swa*, l. 76; *Syllan*, l. 77). Some minuscule letters (*he*, l. 2; *þonne*, l. 23²; *ðonne*, l. 28) and most occurrences of the Tironian *nota* are also filled with red, even when they do not mark a syntactic pause (for example *7wyr̃t* in *þonne 7wyr̃t hyre se deofol* or *he* in *Se þe gelyfan wyle, he bið gehealden on heofonan*, while *Se* is not filled). The syntactic inconsistency of the coloured initials leads to the conclusion that the decorator either was not reading the text carefully, or did not understand it properly.

The conjunction *and* is abbreviated by means of the Tironian *nota*; *þæt* is abbreviated with a stroke across the ascender of *þ*; while the abbreviation mark for *-m* is a kind of s-shaped horizontal mark with the left curl more exaggerated than the right. The word *sanctus* is again found as *scs* with a stroke above, and a single M stands for *Men þa leofestan* halfway through the homily. Word division is generally clear and consistent, although most prefixes are treated as separate words (*ge-healden*, *on-fon*, *to-cymð*, *be-tweonan*, *7-wyr̃t*, *wið-innan*, *þurh-faran*, *for-swelhð*, *un-rihte*, etc., but *aspiwð*, *asecgan*, *awended*, etc.), as are the first members of some compounds (*yfel-dæda*, *soð-fæstan*, *race-teagum*, *grist-bitung*, etc.). Accent marks appear only on *setle*, *satanas*, and *lif*. Punctuation marks consist solely of a point at the mid-line. As Tristram explains, it "steht bei Sinnabschnitten oder völligem Themawechsel, gelegentlich auch an anderen Stellen, die man möglicherweise als natürliche Atempause beim Vortrag der Predigt ansehen könnte."¹⁶ Word division marks at the end of lines are used

¹⁵ Other initials in the manuscript are more decorated.

¹⁶ Tristram, *Vier altenglische Predigten*, 103.

consistently, but appear in slightly lighter ink. Perhaps they were added later. They tend to slope upwards. On p. 72, the scribe wrote the word *godes* with initial *d* and then corrected it (l. 9). The word *setle* has a faint accent, which may indicate a later addition. The decorated *M* and some ink from p. 71 show through slightly.

The text ends on p. 73, l. 14. The rest of the page is taken by the following homily. Here there are a few holes, but they do not damage the text since the scribe has avoided them.

Scholars agree on the fact that *J* and *K* represent a common line of transmission as far as both the *Ælf*rician and the anonymous texts are concerned.¹⁷ *J* and *K*'s common ancestor probably originated in the south-east, since although the two manuscripts rarely deviate from standard late West Saxon (IWS) orthography, they share some spellings that must go back to their common antecedent, and that seem to point to the south-east.¹⁸ Clemoes notes that the affiliations of the supplementary items point to the south-east, since they show associations with manuscripts written at Canterbury; he therefore concludes that *J* and *K*'s ancestor must have been a Canterbury compilation,¹⁹ while Godden adds Rochester as a further possible place of origin.²⁰

The language of the text mainly displays standard IWS orthographic features, as would normally be expected in a late Old English text, regardless of its origin. A few deviations from IWS can be found, but for the most part they seem to reflect the language of the manuscripts rather than

¹⁷ See Clemoes, CH 1, 69–70; idem, "The Chronology of *Ælf*ric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. idem (London, 1959), 212–47, here 228; Godden, CH 2, 1; and Scragg, "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies," 245–47. According to Clemoes, however, although the two manuscripts certainly derive from a common ancestor, "there is likely to have been at least one intervening copy between *N*'s and *O*'s last common source and each of them": Clemoes, CH 1, 152.

¹⁸ See Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 50–52 and 181; Scragg, "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies," 246; and Loredana Teresi, "A Computer-Assisted Analysis of Spellings in Two Vernacular Manuscripts of the Transition Period: MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302 and MS London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1998), 123–26, 215–17.

¹⁹ Clemoes, CH 1, 152–53.

²⁰ "It looks as if *N* is a fairly faithful copy and *O* a more selective one of a collection like that in *M*, covering mainly Sundays up to Pentecost, but interpolated at Rochester or Canterbury with other homilies not by *Ælf*ric": Godden, CH 2, li.

the language of the text itself. As far as accented vowels are concerned, both J and K show instances of *æ* used as a variant spelling of WS *e* (< Germ **a* followed by a nasal consonant and **i* or **j*), in *awænded*, *gebæcnan*, and *stænçe*, a feature that would seem to point to the south-east.²¹ In both copies of the text the present plural of the preterite-present verb *sculan* is always found as *sculan* or *sculon* (also *scylan* in K, see below), although *sceolon* forms appear elsewhere in the manuscripts.²²

Some spelling features seem to be limited to one of the manuscripts. In the text, K shows one instance of the use of *a* as a reflex of Germ **a* followed by **r* and a consonant: *swart*, probably a twelfth century spelling for tenth-century *sweart*. The word occurs only once in the whole manuscript, but such forms as *ðarfena*, *ðarfendum*, and *wardan* also appear.²³ K also has *æa* for *ea* in *wæalle* and *wæallas* (Lat **vallum*), probably a late spelling due to confusion between *e* and *æ*. Similar spellings are scattered throughout the manuscript (*andwæardan*, *gewæald*, *ræaf*, *swæartan*, *ðæah*, etc.), and a few instances of *æa* can also be noted in J. As noted above, the graph *y* is used as a reflex of Germ **u* preceded by palatal *sc* in *scylan* (three times in the text, fourteen in the whole manuscript, mostly in the anonymous items), corresponding to J's *sculan* forms.

In J, *ē* is used twice as a variant spelling of *ēa* (< Germ **au*) in *hæfda*, but the word occurs very close to the verbal forms *hæfð* and *hæfde*, and could therefore be a corruption due to the influx of the verbal form, rather than an eleventh-century spelling for WS *ea* or a less likely Northumbrianism.²⁴ *ē* is used as a reflex of Germ **au* followed by **i* or **j* (IWS *ȳ*) in

²¹ See above and Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 50–52, 181. The two manuscripts seem to alternate in the use of *æ* for *e*: when J has the former, K has the latter and vice versa; *wænd-* forms appear several times in both manuscripts; *gebæcnan* appears only once in K, but several times in manuscript J, although not in *Be heofonwarum* 7 *be helwarum*; *stænçe* appears only in J, just once.

²² *Sceolon* forms are particularly frequent in the Ælfrician homilies, while *sculon* and *scylon* forms are more numerous in anonymous items.

²³ J has *sweart*, *ðearfen*, *ðearfendum* and *weardan*, respectively. Unfortunately, when dealing with such a late text, it is difficult to distinguish what is archaic and dialectally relevant from what is late, since forms sometimes coincide, as in this case. See A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, 6th ed. (Oxford, 1974), § 329 and Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais*, § 30.

²⁴ The standard form *heafda* occurs in the same sentence in both cases, while *æ* forms are otherwise absent in the rest of the manuscript.

alesan and *beman*²⁵ — probably a Kentish feature — and as a variant spelling of IWS *ǣ* (< Germ **ai* followed by **i* or **j*) in *arered*, due either to Anglian or Kentish influence, or simply to confusion between *ǣ* and *ē*. The grapheme *u* appears as an alternative spelling of *y* (< **u* followed by **i* or **j*) in *tocume*, while conversely *y* is found as a variant spelling of *u* in *hynd*. *y* is also found as a variant spelling of *e* in *hylle*, a feature that again points to Kent, in the falling together of *e* and *y*. Finally, the rubric in J exhibits the preposition *beo* (WS *be*), which seems to appear in texts coming from the south-east.²⁶

Most of the nWS forms that appear in the text, therefore, in both J's and K's versions, seem to point to the south-east, although the two manuscripts seem to display distinct spelling features which cannot always be explained in terms of their chronological distance. Since these features are not a prerogative of the text, but can be found elsewhere in the manuscripts, both in the Ælfrician and the anonymous material, they can partly help us understand the later stages in the transmission of the text and its association with the south-east,²⁷ but do not reveal much about the origin of the text itself.

The morphology of the text conforms in general to standard late Old English, with an accentuated decay of inflectional and verbal endings. Some morphological features, however, might be worth noting, such as the genitive plurals of *eage* and *heofon*, which are *eagena* and *heofena* in J, respectively, and *eagana* and *heofona* in K.²⁸ The impersonal pronoun *man* (in J) is found as *me*, *ma* in K. Unsyncopated forms of the 3rd person singular indicative occur in both manuscripts: *adwæsced*, *swygað*, *syllæð*, *demeð* (only J), *syllað* (only J). As to verbal inflections, anomalous forms are: *awreccæð*, K (present plural); *nemnað*, K and J (present 3rd singular); *syllað*,

²⁵ Both words appear twice in manuscript J, and never in manuscript K.

²⁶ W. Schlemilch, *Beiträge zur Sprache und Orthographie spätmittelengl. Sprachdenkmäler der Übergangszeit (1000–1150)* (Halle, 1914), 6.

²⁷ See above.

²⁸ See K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik (nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers)*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1965), § 276.A3: "Die urspr. Form der Endung des Gen. Pl. ist *-ana*, *-ona* aus idg. *-onm*, doch ist diese Form der Endung ws. nur selten, ... in mundartlich gefärbten Texten sind diese Formen etwas häufiger zu finden." Also, Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 617: "The ending appears early as *-ana* ... , and this remains frequent in INorth. and Ru¹."

J (present 3rd singular);²⁹ *lufadest*, J (preterite 2nd singular); and *lufedest*, K (preterite 2nd singular).³⁰

The general vocabulary of the homily is IWS. Two words, however, have been identified as "Anglian" by many scholars, including Jordan and Wenisch: *soðfæst* and *in*. In dealing with *soðfæst* Wenisch follows Bartlett's opinion that although this word was used in Old English for translating both Latin *verax* and *iustus*, the meaning *verax* was common to all Old English dialects, while the meaning *iustus* was apparently limited to the Anglian lexical hoard.³¹ The preposition *in* is also an element that, according to Wenisch, testifies to a nWS origin — or at least to Anglian influence — for a particular text: "In Hapcr³² offenbart sich die außerws. Herkunft vor allem im häufiger Gebrauch der Präposition *in* sowie in der Verwendung der Anglizismen *inwit* und *soðfæst* 'iustus'."³³ Therefore, he includes Hapcr in the group of texts that "wahrscheinlich gleichfalls angl. Ursprung ist."³⁴

Two other words that have interesting connotations are *mægen* and *hreowsian*. These words have been studied by Hofstetter in a thesis³⁵ in which the author discusses the phenomenon of the Winchester standardization of vocabulary promoted by Bishop Æthelwold in the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh. He places both *mægen*

²⁹ See Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 752: "As in the strong verb, Ru.¹ and North. have many innovations beside historical forms: Ru.¹ 3rd sg. in *-aþ*, *-æþ*, pl. *-eþ*; North. 2nd sg. *-as*, *-æs*, 3rd sg. *-að*, *-æð*, also *-es*, *-as*, *-æs*; pl *-eð*, also *-es*, *-as*." These forms might, however, be the result of the coalescence of vowels in unaccented syllables.

³⁰ The standard WS form would be *lufodest*. The suffix *-ed-* is a late form common to all dialects, while *-ad-* generally occurs in Angl. and Kent. Cf. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 757: "In the past *-ode* heavily predominates in WS; *-ade* in Kt. and Angl. Pl. *-edon*, and hence sg. *-ede*, occurs in all dialects." And also Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, § 413: "Im Präteritum ist *-ode* aus älterem *-udæ*, *-ude* für gewöhnlich im ws. verallgemeinert worden; *-ade* ist hier seltener, dafür aber im Kent. und Angl. die Regel. Formen mit geschwächtem *-ed-* sind überall seltener, finden sich aber in allen Mundarten."

³¹ F. Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums* (Heidelberg, 1979), 224. See also R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des anglischen Wortschatzes. Eine wortgeographische Untersuchung mit etymologischen Anmerkungen*, AF 17 (Heidelberg, 1906), 43, 61; H. Bartlett, "The Metrical Division of the Paris Psalter" (diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1896), 18.

³² This is the siglum he uses for the homilies based on the Three Utterances of the Soul exemplum: see below.

³³ Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut*, 197 f.

³⁴ Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut*, 327.

³⁵ W. Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spälatenglische Sprachgebrauch* (Munich, 1987).

and *hreowsian* among the words in his C category, those which are normally avoided in the Winchester usage (groups 7.f and 11.a respectively), and with reference to *Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum* (n. 33 in his survey of Old English texts) he states that: "Das oben in der Tabelle aufgeführte Vokabular zeigt jedenfalls keinen Zusammenhang mit dem Winchester-Sprachgebrauch."³⁶

Vocabulary, however, although generally more conservative than phonology and morphology, is not always reliable, since sometimes Old English authors writing in a particular dialect occasionally borrowed words from other dialects. As Sauer has pointed out, "Anglian words were even used sporadically by unquestionably WS authors such as Ælfric,"³⁷ and as an example he mentions Ælfric's use of the very word *soðfæst* in the sense "just", in *Lives of the Saints* XXIX (l. 51) and XI (l. 197).³⁸ Finally it has to be remembered that since *Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum* is a composite piece,³⁹ there is the possibility that the compiler may have taken over vocabulary from the sources.⁴⁰

The evidence that can be gathered from a linguistic analysis of the text, unfortunately, is not clear enough to provide a definitive answer about a possible place of origin for the text. The Kentish orthographic features that the two manuscripts have in common are not limited to *Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum*, and therefore are more likely to give us insight about the place where the *temporale* was compiled, rather than the text itself; some of them might well be the contribution of later copyists who, in all likelihood, were operating in a scriptorium in the south-east. Vocabulary and certain morphological features seem to point to Anglia rather than Wessex, but the evidence is not strong enough to come to any firm conclusion.⁴¹

³⁶ Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch*, 183.

³⁷ H. Sauer, "Old English Word Geography: Some Problems and Results" in *Anglistentag 1991 Düsseldorf: Proceedings*, ed. W. G. Busse (Tübingen, 1992), 313.

³⁸ He explains, however, that Ælfric borrows the Anglian word only when he needs an *s*-alliteration.

³⁹ See below.

⁴⁰ For a thorough linguistic analysis of the text, see Teresi, "An Edition," 53–86.

⁴¹ Also, the text might have been recopied in one or more dialects different from the original one, and Anglian elements could have been introduced in the transmission process rather than at composition.

As far as the subject is concerned, the homily is a compilation of apocryphal motifs and biblical citations. Sources and analogues have been discussed elsewhere, in an article where I argued for a composition based on a mnemonic recollection of the various motives that make up the homily.⁴² Here, then, I shall discuss these themes only briefly to provide information on the kind of cultural milieu in which the text could have originated.

The first few lines of the homily are focused on death: a brief exhortation to believe in God and in his word, in order to acquire a place in heaven and be spared the tortures of hell — echoing the Gospel of John (5:24 and 6:40) — is followed by general remarks on the ineluctability of death, with short references to Adam on the one hand, and to Enoch and Elijah on the other, the two biblical characters who were taken alive to heaven and who will come back to earth before Judgment Day to be killed in the fight against the Antichrist.⁴³

The homilist then stresses the importance of behaving appropriately before death, in order not to endure a terrible fate on Judgment Day. The theme of Judgment becomes the main focus of the homily, with a description of trumpets sounding to raise the dead,⁴⁴ and God holding a trial in front of a band of (five thousand) bright angels and a band of (five thousand) black devils, fighting for the possession of the soul. The motif of the two bands fighting over the soul, followed by the separation of the soul from the body, and by three exclamations uttered by the soul itself, marks the beginning of the Three Utterances exemplum, an apocryphal motif on the fate of souls at death.⁴⁵ The use of the exemplum here creates a dis-

⁴² See L. Teresi, "Mnemonic Transmission of Old English Texts in the Post-Conquest Period," in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, 98–116. See also eadem, "An Edition," 28–52.

⁴³ 2 Kings 2:1 and 2:11, Hebrews 11:5, Ecclesiasticus 44:16 and 48:9–10, and Malachi 4:5.

⁴⁴ Matthew 24:31, John 5:28–29, 1 Corinthians 15:51–52, and 1 Thessalonians 4:16.

⁴⁵ The exemplum, which seems to originate in Hiberno-Latin literature, survives in various Latin, Old English and Irish texts. See Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, 31–149, and C. D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (Cambridge, 1993), 215–18. The origin of the exemplum is obscure, although some scholars have associated it with the *Visio Sancti Pauli*. See A. diPaolo Healey, "Visio Sancti Pauli," in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. F. M. Biggs, Th. D. Hill, and P. E. Szarmach, MRTS 74 (Binghamton, 1990), 66–67 and Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, 67–68. The possibility of an association with the *Visio* is rein-

crepancy in the narrative flow, since the Three Utterances episode, which normally takes place at a death scene (as can also be inferred from the various references to "souls" rather than "bodies" or "men" in the text, and by the reference to the extraction of the soul from the body), is here set in a Judgment Day context, for which it is not suitable. Willard explains the discrepancy by means of an accidental abridgement of a longer text originally containing a Last Judgment scene — with God, five thousand angels, and five thousand devils — followed by a death scene with smaller bands of devils and the Three Utterances.⁴⁶ It seems more likely, however, that the hypothesis of an abridgement should be discarded, partly because it is unlikely that a text would contain the two scenes in the order required by Willard — that is a Judgment Day scene followed by a death scene, and partly because there seems to be no reason to discard the hypothesis of a "compilation with the joints awkwardly made" which Willard himself advances and then rejects,⁴⁷ and which seems confirmed by the rest of the homily.

After the utterances, the good soul (whose death, fight, and utterances are not registered) is said to be taken by Michael to God's throne in heaven, while the wicked soul is escorted to hell, and both souls are reminded of their good and bad deeds, respectively. There follows a description of hell that is based on a Hiberno-Latin text known as *The Seven Heavens apocryphon*, whose ultimate origins would appear to lie in Coptic traditions.⁴⁸ Satan, tied up on his back at the bottom of hell, is depicted by means of a well-known devilish description known as *The Monster of Hell*, based on a reduplicating numerical pattern, again of Hiberno-Latin derivation.⁴⁹ After a further exhortation to repent of one's sins in order to avoid the torments of hell, the homilist provides a series of well-known

forced by the reference, in the passage, to Saint Paul weeping for the souls' fate: ll. 20–21.

⁴⁶ Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, 69.

⁴⁷ Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, 35. Even the omission of the passage concerning the death of the pious soul and its utterances could be explained as the result of the homilist's personal choice, since the emphasis in the homily is on the whole on hell rather than on heaven.

⁴⁸ See Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, 1–30; Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 218–21; and J. Stevenson, "Ascent through the Seven Heavens, from Egypt to Ireland," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983): 21–35.

⁴⁹ See Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 156–65.

descriptive formulas for hell, echoing Matthew 8:12, 13:42, and 13:50, Ze-
 phaniah 1:15–16, Joel 2:1–2, Ezekiel 30:2–3, and the motif of the Five
 Horrors of Hell,⁵⁰ followed by the inexpressibility topos of The Men with
 Tongues of Iron, another Hiberno-Latin motif based on the numerical
gradatio.⁵¹

The final part of the homily again focuses explicitly on the Day of
 Judgment, with a description of the natural phenomena that will an-
 nounce the event — Matthew 24:29–31 and 16:27 and Mark 13:24–27 —
 with an exhortation to give alms, reinforced by a simile comparing water/
 fire to alms/sins, based on Ecclesiasticus 3:33.

As far as the date of composition is concerned, although the oldest
 manuscript containing the text was copied between the end of the elev-
 enth and the beginning of the twelfth century, there is no certainty as to
 when the text was originally composed. It could date to the end of the
 eleventh century or much earlier; or it could even have been composed around
 the end of the eleventh century by juxtaposing — possibly by memory —
 passages of a much earlier date. As to the place of origin, as noted above
 some lexical and morphological elements seem to point to the Anglian re-
 gion, but the evidence is scanty and not irrefutable. What seems beyond
 doubt is the text's inclusion in a *temporale* somewhere in the south-east, as
 well as its close relationship with Irish tradition. Conclusions, therefore,
 can only be tentative and cannot go beyond affirming that *Be heofon-
 warum 7 be helwarum* is a text that originated in an Irish-influenced mil-
 ieu, sometime before the end of the eleventh century, possibly in Anglia
 or in a scriptorium where WS was not powerfully influential, and was in-
 serted in a *temporale* collection in the south-east, and then copied out a
 certain amount of times by Kentish scribes.

⁵⁰ This is a parallel-reverse motif of the Seven Joys of Heaven. For the motif of the
 "Seven Joys of Heaven" see T. D. Hill, "The Seven Joys of Heaven in 'Christ III' and
 Old English Homiletic Texts," *Notes and Queries* 214 (1969): 165–66 and Wright, *Irish
 Tradition*, 102–5. For the motif of the "Five Horrors of Hell" see D. F. Johnson, "The
 Five Horrors of Hell: An Insular Homiletic Motif," *English Studies* 74 (1993): 414–31.

⁵¹ See Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 145–56.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

In preparing this edition the guidelines given by H. Gneuss in "Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts for the Dictionary of Old English" (*Plan*, 9-24) are followed. The main text is based on J; variant readings from K are noted in the apparatus. An oblique stroke — / — is used to indicate the beginning of the recto and verso of each manuscript folio, and the appropriate number is reported beside the text, in the right-hand margin. The end of pages in K is indicated in the apparatus.

The edition is generally conservative, and the text is emended only in the case of an obvious mistake or omission. Peculiar spellings or inflections have been retained and are discussed in the commentary or in the linguistic analysis in the introduction. Emendations are enclosed in square brackets: []. Punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing have been modernized, but the manuscripts' features are discussed in the introduction. Vowel quantity has not been marked in the text. The glossary reports vowel length according to the etymology of words, while the manuscripts' use of accents is discussed in the introduction. Abbreviations have been expanded and missing letters have been supplied in italics. The Tironian *nota*, however, has been retained. Word division has been normalized following the entries in Clark Hall, except that hyphenated forms in the latter are written here as one word. Line numbers by fives are provided in the left-hand margin.

The apparatus provides the lexical, orthographic, and morphological variants that can be found in K. It is arranged in a negative way, that is, it records only the readings differing from that of the basic manuscript. Words differing in the use of *þ* and *ð* have not been noted. Each variant reading is preceded by the lemma and a square bracket open on the left —] — and followed by the manuscript's siglum.

The glossary contains a complete word-list from both J and K.

**DOMINICA V ET QUANDO VOLVERIS
BE HEOFONWARUM 7 BEO HELWARUM**

- Men ða leofestan, ute gehyran her Godes word, 7 gelyfan
on urne God. Se þe gelyfan wyle, he bið gehealden on f. 21v
heofonan. 7 ute gemunan þæt we sculon ealle deade beon,
forþam se æresta man se þe wæs acenned on þissere wo-
5 rulde, he onfeng deaðes. 7 ic eow secge to soþan þæt Elias
7 Enohc cumað of heofonum hider on eorðan us to tacne,
7 hy sculon deaðes onfon ær domes dæge. 7 eac we sculan
geþencan, ær we deaðes onfon, hu we aysan sculon on
domes dæge, þonne þa beman blawað 7 us of deaðe awrec-
10 cað, 7 we swiðe werlice arisað. 7 ure Drihten us eac to-
cymð mid fif þusend engla forþi he wile ure stal gehyran
þe we sculan astellan beforan þam fif þusendan helle deo-
fla. Ure teð sprecað 7 seo tunge swygað. 7 oþer þara we-
roda bið swa sweart swa col, 7 oðer bið / beorhtre þonne f. 22r
15 sunne. 7 hi þonne seofan siþan feohtað him betweenan
embe þa godan sawle 7 þa yfelan. Gif þa deofla ongytað
þæt hi agan þa sawle, þonne blissiað hy, 7 þa englas beoð

Rubric V] III K. beo] be K.

- 1 p. 71 K.
- 2 wyle] wile K.
- 3 sculon] sculan K.
- 4 acenned] acænned K. þissere] þisse K.
- 6 enohc] enoch K.
- 7 hy] hi K. sculon] scylan K.
- 8 geþencan] geþæcnan K. aysan] arisan K. sculon] sculan K.
- 9 beman] byman K. deaðe] deað K.
- 9-10 awreccað] awrecced K.
- 10 werlice] wærlice K.
- 12 sculan] scylan K. astellan] atellan K. þam] þan K.
- 13-14 weroda] worda K.
- 14 sweart] swart K.
- 15 siþan] siðum K.
- 16 gif] gyf K. ongytað] ongitað K.
- 17 hy] hi K.

20 swyþe unrote. 7 þa deofla cweþað: "We agan þa sawle for-
þam heo nolde of hyre woruldgestreonum ælmeſſan dæ-
lan". Þonne wepð Sanctus Paulus swiðe biterlice for þara
sawla geomerunge.

25 Þonne cweð sum deofol to oþrum deofle: "Abredað þa
sawle grimlice of þam lichaman 7 gelædað hy to wite þæt
wyrste 7 to egesfulre stowe. Heo þonne onfint ealle hyre
yfeldæda."

Þonne cweð seo sawle: "Her is mycel nearunes."
Þonne cweð sum deofol: "Mare þe is toward þonne þu
gesyxt þone ealdordeofol þe lið on bæc gebunden on þære
neowelnesse hellegrundes." Þonne cweð seo sawle oþre
30 siðe: "Þis sindon micle þystro." Þonne cweð sum deofol:
"Maran þe synd toward." Þonne cweð seo sawle: "Þis is
grimlic hus." Þonne andwyrst hyre se deofol 7 cweð: "7
grimra þe is toward, butan ælcum tweon, þonne þu ge-
syxt hwæt þu on eorþan lufadest, þa þu on þinum life
35 mihtig wære, 7 þu unrihta synna / lufadest."

f. 22v

Sanctus Michahel nimð þa soðfæstan sawle 7 gelæt hi
beforan Godes heahsetle, 7 þær heo gesyhd ealle hyre
weorc þe heo to gode dyde her on worulde. Þa earman
sawle man læt to hylle, 7 man mynegað hy hyre yfeldæda.

19 woruldgestreonum] worulde gestreone K.

21 geomerunge] geomerunge K.

22 oþrum] dðrum K.

23 hy] hi K.

26 cweð] cwyð K. sawle] sawl K. mycel] micel K.

27 cweð] cwyð K, p. 72.

28 on þære] in þære K.

29 cweð] cwyð K. sawle] sawl K.

30 sindon] syndon K. cweð] cwyð K.

32 cweð] cwyð K.

34 lufadest] lufedest K.

35 unrihta] unrihte K. lufadest] lufedest K.

37 þær] þar K.

39 man¹] me K. hylle] helle K. man²] ma K. hy] hi K. hyre yfeldæda] hyra yfeldæda J,
þænne ealle hyre yfela dæda K.

40 7 onbutan helle syndan xii ysene weallas þa synd ealle byr-
nende readum fyre. 7 wiðinnan ælcum wealle is synderlic
wituncstow þe þa sawla þurhfaran sculan ær hy to helle
cuman. 7 xii dracan syndan in þam xii weallum 7 hy synd
ealle afylled mid readum lige 7 mid fulum stænce. Se
45 æresta draca forswelgð þa arleasan sawle 7 aspiwð þam
oþrum on muð. Swa heora ælc hy forswelhð, þa arleasan
sawle, 7 eft aspiwð ælc oþrum on muð.

7 syþþan heo bið gelæd to þam ealdordeofle Satanas.
He is swyþe andryslic. He hæf[ð] an hund heafda 7 þara
50 hæfda gehwylc an hund tungan 7 he hæfð egeslice fingras
7 on ælcum fingre hynd clifra. Se lið innan helle ge-
bunden on bæc mid fyrenum raceteagum.

Wa þam mannum þe nellað for heora synnum reow-
sian, forþi on helle bið eagenas wop 7 toþa gristbitung. Þær
55 bið hunger 7 þurst. Þær / bið ungemet cyles 7 hætān, ni-
gon syþan hattre þonne domes dægges fyr. Þar syndan þa
ytemestan þystro butan leohte. Þær bið ylde butan geo-
goðe. Ne man Drihten ne nemnað.

f. 23r

40 weallas] wæallas K.

41 wealle] wæalle K.

42 sculan] scylan K. hy] hi K.

43 syndan] syndon K. hy] hi K.

44 stænce] stence K.

46 hy] hi K.

48 gelæd] gelædd K.

49 hæfð] hæf J, hæfð K.

50 hæfda] heafda K. gehwylc] gehwylc K.

51 hynd] hund K.

54 forþi] 7 J, forþi K. eagenas] eagana K.

55 bið hunger] byð hunger K.

55-56 nigon] ix K.

56 syþan] siðan K. hattre] hatre K. dægges] dægges K.

57 þær] þar K. bið] byþ K. ylde] yld K.

Men þa leofestan, þeah ænigman hæfde hund heafda,
 60 7 þæra hæfda æghwīlc hæfde hund tungan, 7 hi wæron
 ealle isene, 7 ealle spræcon fram frymðe þysse worulde oð
 ende, ne mihton hi asecgan þæt yfel þe on helle is.

Ute us warnian wið helle tintregum þa hwile þe we
 [magon] þæt lif habban 7 þa þing þe we mid magon us
 65 alesan ær domes dæge, forþam hit bið andrislic dæg, 7 un-
 rotnessa dæg, 7 sorga dæg, 7 dimnessa dæg, 7 storma dæg,
 7 wracena dæg, 7 fyres dæg, 7 nearunessa dæg, 7 gehnipes
 dæg, 7 þystro dæg. Sunne bið aþystrod on þam dæge, 7
 mona his leoht ne sylleð. 7 steorra feallað of heofonum, 7
 70 eall heofena mægen bið awænded 7 arered. 7 Drihten
 cymð mid eallum his englum, 7 eall mancyn bið awreht of
 deaðe, 7 ealle gesceafta forhtiað for Godes tocume. 7 he
 demeð ælcum men be his gewyrhtum, swa he her gear-
 node on þisse worulde.

75 We gehyrdan eac on bocum secgan: "eall swa wæter
 adwæscēð fyr, swa mæg / seo ælmesse adwæscan þa
 synna". Syllan we ure ælmessan rumheortlice for urum
 synnum on Godes naman: He us syllað ece lif on heo-
 fonum a butan ende. Amen.

f. 23v

59 Men þa leofestan] M K. hund] c K.

60 hæfda] heafda K. hund] c K.

61 þysse] þyssere K.

63 us] p. 73 K.

64 magon] om J, magon K. þing] þinc K.

65 alesan] alysan K. andrislic] andryslic K.

66 dimnessa] dymnyssa K.

67 7 wracena dæg] 7 wracena dæg, 7 dymnyssa dæg, 7 wracena dæg K. gehnipes] genipes K.

70 heofena] heofona K. awænded] awended K. arered] aræred K.

71 eall] eal K. mancyn] mancynn K.

72 tocume] tocyme K.

73 demeð] demð K.

73-74 gearnode] eamode K.

74 þisse] þissere K.

75 eall] eal K.

78 syllað] syllð K.

COMMENTARY

- 5 *onfeng deaðes*. The verb *onfon*, which can be followed by acc., gen. or dat.,⁵² is consistently followed by the gen. See also ll. 7 and 8.
- 8 *geþæncan*. K's reading *geþæcnan* does not seem to occur anywhere else.
- 9 *deaðe*. K has *deað*. It is probably dat. sg., since it follows the prep. *of* (in fact both manuscripts read *of deaðe* on l. 72). It is possible that *-e* has been omitted by mistake. It might also be an instance of what Campbell calls "an endingless loc. sg. like that of the *a*-stems" that can be found in IOE.⁵³ More likely, however, it could be an early Middle English form, showing the falling together of acc. and dat. As for K's *awreccæð*, see Mossé § 93, where he states that in Middle English *-eþ* is the ending used in the south for both the 3rd person sg. and the pl.⁵⁴ See, however, Campbell § 752.
- 11–13 *forþi he wile ure stal gehyran þe we sculan astellan beforan þam fif þusendan helle deofla*. The clause is ambiguous because of the uncertain semantic value of *gestal* and *astellan* (K *atellan*). The direct object of *gehyran*, that is *stal* (< *ge-stal*), can be translated as "charge", "accusation",⁵⁵ and would lead us to imagine the soul silently standing trial before God, accused by the devils of its sinful actions. The verb *astellan*, however, casts some doubts on the accuracy of this translation/ interpretation. Bosworth translates the word as "to set forth, to set, place, afford, supply, appoint, establish, ordain, undertake, undergo, begin";⁵⁶ of all these *interpretamenta*, only "undergo" can have "charge", "accusation" as its object, at least in this context. Both Toller and the *Dictionary of Old English*, however, specify that the word is used in the context of initial action (in the sense of "to undergo something first"),⁵⁷ which does not apply to the Judgment passage; and the DOE expressly translates *astellan*, in the passage under exami-

⁵² See B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1987), § 1092.

⁵³ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 613.

⁵⁴ Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais*.

⁵⁵ T. N. Toller, ed., *Supplement* (Oxford, 1921), 415, s.v. *ge-stal*, l; corresponding to Latin *obiectio*.

⁵⁶ J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, eds., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), 55, s.v. *a-stellan*.

⁵⁷ Toller, *Supplement*, 52, s.v. *ā-stellan*, 2a; A. diPaolo Healy, et al., eds., *Dictionary of Old English* (hereafter DOE). A (Toronto, 1994), s.v. *ā-stellan*, 2.a.

- nation, as "to set forth, to present (something)".⁵⁸ If this translation is accurate, *stal* can only be translated as "confession".⁵⁹ K reads *atellan* "to tell, relate, recount", which eliminates the ambiguity.⁶⁰ Callison, in fact, whose edition is based on K's text, translates the sentence as: "And also our Lord will come to us with five thousand angels, because he will wish to hear our confession which we must recount before the five thousand hell-devils."⁶¹
- 13–14 **weroda**. K's scribe probably thought that the text was referring to words (Old English *word*, gen. pl. *worda*) since the sentence comes immediately after the description of the chattering teeth and the silent tongue, while we are waiting for the confession to be uttered. The original text, however, must have had *weroda*.
- 16 **Deofol** is used throughout the text as a neuter noun, as can be seen from ll. 16 and 18, where the nom. pl. appears as *deofla* (< o < u), as opposed to m. *deoflas*.
- 19 **woruldgestreonum**. J has a compound word in the dat. pl., while K has a simplex in the gen. sg. followed by a dat. sg.
- 20–21 St. Paul's concern for souls in general comes abruptly after a passage talking about a particular soul, whose story is continued immediately after. Note that this remark is not found in the Latin versions of the Three Utterances exemplum.
- 22 **oprum**. K's spelling *dðrum* is obviously a mistake; probably the scribe anticipated the following *ð* while writing o.
- 24 **onfint**. We have to imagine the following development: **onfindeð* > **onfindð* > **onfintt* > *onfint*.⁶²
- 26 **sawle**. K has the correct OE form (*sawl*) for the nom. sg. Were *sawle* a mistake, however, it would hardly be repeated on ll. 29 and 31 (in l. 31 also in K). It should probably be explained as an early Middle English form. See, in fact, Mossé § 55 (*remarque*): "Du point de vue de l'orthographe, -e final (muet) tend au contraire à s'étendre, et l'on écrit

⁵⁸ diPaolo Healy, DOE. A, s.v. *ā-stellan*, 1.

⁵⁹ See J. R. Clark Hall, ed., *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1970), 318, s.v. *+stāl*.

⁶⁰ diPaolo Healy, DOE. A, s.v. *ā-stellan*, 3.

⁶¹ Callison, "An Edition of Previously Unpublished Anglo-Saxon Homilies," 249.

⁶² Cf. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 732.

- wyfe "femme" et finalement stone comme *ende, soule, name*, etc."⁶³ Either it was *sawle* in the common ancestor, and K's scribe corrected it twice to *sawl*, or it was *sawl*, and J's scribe changed it into *sawle*, and so did K's scribe once (or somebody along the transmission chain).
- 28–29 *on þære neowelness*. K has the prep. *in* instead. See above for a more detailed discussion of the feature.
- 30 *þis sindon micle þystro*. Cf. Mitchell, § 342: "As with the *þæt* formula, a plural complement requires a plural verb, e.g., Or 100.13 *þiss wæron ealle Greca leode* and CP 453.8 *Ðis sint nu ða lara ...*"⁶⁴ Cf. also Modern German *Das sind ...*
- 32 *andwyr̥t*. See *onfint* above, l. 24.
- 33 *grimra*. The masculine sg. ending does not agree with the neuter sb. *hus*. This could maybe be explained by comparing the text with O (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114), fol. 104r, where the third utterance is: "*Þis is grimlic siðfæt þe we on syndon!*", in accordance with the "*asperum iter*" of the Latin versions. The devil's answer following the utterance contrasts the dwelling of the wicked with that of the pious souls, and contains the word *hus*: "*Ðe is mycle grimlicre toward þonne þu gesihst þa grimnesse þines siðfætes, and ðu byst þæra soðfæstra husa benumen and ðu byst gelæded in þa witu hellecarnes.*"⁶⁵ Our compiler might have compressed the devil's speech, leaving the word *hus* (n.) instead of *siðfæt* (m./n.) in the utterance, and then, perhaps, he forgot to correct the adj. It could just as well be, however, simply a case of IOE inflectional disruption.
- 33–34 *gesyxt* < *gesyhst*.
- 37 *ealle*. Cf. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, § 293.A3.
- 39 *man*. As to K's *me, ma*, cf. S. M. Kuhn, ed., *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1975); s.v. *7 man mynegað hy hyra yfeldæda*. J and K differ in the sentence structure, since a compound word (*yfeldæda*) is replaced in K by two simplex preceded by a temporal adv. and the adj. *eall*. According to Mitchell *myndgian* is followed by the acc. (=who?) plus the gen. case (=of what?).⁶⁶ Either K's reading *ealle hyre yfela*

⁶³ Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais*.

⁶⁴ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*.

⁶⁵ J. Bazire and J. E. Cross, ed., *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies* (Toronto, 1982), 122.

⁶⁶ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 1092. See also F. Th. Visser, *An Historical Syntax*

dæda is wrong or defective (perhaps *yfela* < *yfelra* and *ealle* < *eaþra*?) or we have a rare case of the verb *myndgian* followed by two acc. The possessive pronoun in J is probably wrong, since a plural pronoun destroys the symmetry of the passage (one soul is led to heaven, one soul is led to hell) and also its logic — since the passage with the three utterances refers to a single wicked soul — while K's reading *hyre* seems to fit the context.⁶⁷ Perhaps it is due to confusion of unstressed *-e* and *-a*. Note also that the other occurrences of the gen. pl. of the 3rd pers. personal pronoun read *heora* and not *hyra* in both J and K (in two instances). I assume *yfeldæda* to be pl. because of both logic and K's reading *yfela dæda*.

41 **readum fyre**. For the use of the dat. without a preceding preposition, see Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, §§ 1367–70.

46–47 **þa arleasan sawle** is an expansion of the pronoun *hy* in l. 46.

54 Cf. Matthew 13:42 and 13:50: "*ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium*".⁶⁸ K's *forþi* certainly suits the logical structure of the passage better.

59 In K the whole address is abbreviated.

64 **magon**. Either it has been omitted in J, or it has been added by K's scribe to account for the "infinitive" which might actually be a subj. fallen together with the infinitive due to late spelling (*hæbben* > *habban*).

65–68 Cf. Zephaniah 1:15: "*dies irae dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbines*."⁶⁹ Cf. also Joel 2:2: "*dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nubes et turbinis*."⁷⁰

67 K's scribe accidentally recopies two attributes twice.

68–70 Cf. Matthew 24:29: "*Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum*

of the English Language, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1963–1973), 1: §§ 698–99 and J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1894–1901), 1: § 117.

⁶⁷ See also the version of the Three Utterances in a homily for Rogationtide contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114: Bazire and Cross, *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, 122, ll. 40–49. Symmetry, logic, and consistency, however, are not among the strongest assets of the text.

⁶⁸ *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 3rd. ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983), 2: 1546–47.

⁶⁹ *Biblia Sacra*, 2: 1412.

⁷⁰ *Biblia Sacra*, 2: 1385.

sol obscurabitur et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellae cadent de caelo, et virtutes caelorum commovebuntur."⁷¹

- 69 **steorra**. It might be an early Middle English spelling; see, however, Campbell § 617: "In North has loss of -n always, Ru¹ usually"⁷² and Brunner § 276.A6: "Im Nordh fehlen durchgehend, desgl. in R¹ zum größeren Teil, die auslautenden -n, und die Vokale der Endsilben schwanken vielfach."⁷³ Callison wrongly considers it a singular because of comparison with Revelation 8:10, but the text clearly follows Matthew 24:29.⁷⁴

- 75–77 Cf. Ecclesiasticus 3:33: "*ignem ardentem extinguit aqua et elemosyna resistit peccatis*".⁷⁵

- 78 **syllað**. The form is singular. On the inflection see comment on *aw-recceð*, l. 10.

⁷¹ *Biblia Sacra*, 2: 1564.

⁷² Campbell, *Old English Grammar*.

⁷³ Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*.

⁷⁴ Callison, "An Edition of Previously Unpublished Anglo-Saxon Homilies," 274.

⁷⁵ *Biblia Sacra*, 2: 1033.

GLOSSARY

Lemmata are listed in alphabetical order according to the form of entries in Clark Hall. In the list *æ* follows *ad*, and *ð* follows *t*; the prefix *ge-* is ignored in the alphabetical arrangement. Cross-references are given throughout to facilitate finding inflected forms or different spellings.

In each entry the lemma is followed by a general grammatical description, a translation relevant to the text, and a list of the forms contained in the text, each followed by grammatical information. The following abbreviations are used:

a = accusative	Lat = Latin
abbrev = abbreviated	m = masculine
adj = adjective	n = nominative, neuter
adv = adverb	num = numeral
anom vb = anomalous verb	p, pl = plural
art = article	pers = personal
athem = athematic	poss = possessive
card = cardinal	pp = past participle
comp = comparative	prep = preposition
conj = conjunction	pres = present
d = dative	presp = present participle
def = definite	pret pres vb = preterite present verb
dem = demonstrative	pron = pronoun
f = feminine	rel = relative
g = genitive	s = singular
imp = imperative	subj = subjunctive
indecl = indeclinable	sup = superlative
indef = indefinite	sv = strong verb
inf = infinitive	wv = weak verb
interj = interjection	* = reconstructed form
interr = interrogative	< = came from

ā *adv* forever 79

ābregdan *sv* 3 draw, pull out, take away. *abredað* *imp* 2pl. 22

ācennan *wv* 1 create. *acenned*, *acænned* *pp*. 4

ād wæscan *wv* 1 extinguish. *adwæsceð* *pres* 3s; *adwæscan* *inf*. 76; 76

- æghwīlc *indef pron* every one, each. æghwīlc *nsn.* 60
 ælc *indef adj and pron* each, any. ælc *nsm*; ælcum *dsm.* 46, 47; 33, 41, 51, 73
 ælmesse *f-ōn alms.* ælmesse *ns*; ælmessan *ap.* 76; 19, 77
 ænigmon *indef pron* some one. ænigman *nsm.* 59
 ær *prep with d and conj.* before. 7, 8, 42, 65
 ærest *sup adj* first. æresta *nsm.* 4, 45
 afyllan *wv* 1 fill. afylled *pp.* 44
 āgan *pret pres vb* I own, possess. āgan *pres pl.* 17, 18
 ālīesan *wv* 1 redeem. alesan, alysan *inf.* 65
 amen *interj* amen. 79
 ān *card num adj* one. an *asn.* 49, 50
 and *conj and.* abbrev as 7. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, etc.
 andryslic *see* ondryslenlic.
 andwyrðan *wv* 1 answer. andwyrð *pres 3s.* 32
 āræran *wv* 1 raise. arered, aræred *pp.* 70
 ārīsan *sv* 1 arise. alysan, arisan *inf*; arisað *pres pl.* 8; 10
 ārlēas *adj* wicked. arleasan *asf.* 45, 46
 āsecgan *wv* 3 tell. aseccan *inf.* 62
 āspīwan *sv* 1 spew up. aspiwð *pres 3s.* 45, 47
 āstellan *wv* 1 set forth, undergo. astellan *inf.* 12
 ātellan *wv* 1 tell, relate, recount. atellan *inf.* [12]
 āðēostrian *wv* 2 obscure. apystrod *pp.* 68
 āwenden *wv* 1 upset. awænded, awended *pp.* 70
 āwreccan *wv* 1 awake. awreccað, awrecced *pres pl*; awreht *pp.* 9-10; 71

 bæc *n-a* back. bæc *as.* 28, 52
 be *prep with d* by, about. be, beo. 73, rubric
 beforan *prep with d* before. 12, 37
 bēman, bȳman *see* bieme.
 bēon *anom vb* be. beon *inf*; bið, byð, byþ *pres 3s.* See also eom, wesian. 3; 2, 14, 14, 48, 54, etc.
 beorht *adj* bright. beorhtre (*comp*) *nsn.* 14
 betwēonan *prep with d* between, among. 15
 bieme *f-ōn* trumpet. beman, byman *np.* 9
 biernan *sv* 3 burn. byrnende *presp, npm.* 40-41
 bindan *sv* 3 tie. gebunden *pp.* 28, 51
 bitterlice *adv* bitterly. 20

bið see bēon.

blāwan *sv* 7 blow, sound. blawað *pres pl.* 9

blissian *wv* 2 rejoice. blissiað *pres pl.* 17

bōc *f* *athem* book. bocum *dp.* 75

būtan *prep* with *d* without, outside of. 33, 57, 57, 79

byrnende see biernan.

ciele *m-i* chill. cyles *gs.* 55

clifer *m-a* claw. clifra *gp.* 51

col *n-a* coal. col *ns.* 14

cuman *sv* 4 come. cymð *pres 3s*; cumað *pres pl*; cuman *subj, pres pl.* 71; 6; 43

cweðan *sv* 5 say. cweð, cwyð *pres 3s*; cweþað *pres pl.* 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, etc.; 18

cyles see ciele.

cymð see cuman.

dæd *f-i* deed. dæda *ap.* [39]

dæg *m-a* day. dæg *ns*; dæges, dægges *gs*; dæge *ds.* 65, 66, 66, 66, 66, etc.; 56; 7, 9, 65, 68

dælan *wv* 1 distribute, share. dælan *inf.* 19–20

dēad *adj* dead. deade *npm.* 3

dēað *m-a* death. deaðes *gs*; deaðe, deað *ds.* 5, 7, 8; 9, 72

dēman *wv* 1 judge. demeð, demð *pres 3s.* 73

dēofol *n-a* devil (< *Lat* *diabolus*). deofol *ns*; deofle *ds*; deofla *n/gp.* 22, 27, 30, 32; 22; 16, 18; 12–13

dimnes *f-jō* gloom. dimnessa, dymnyssa, dimnyssa *gp.* 66 [67]

dōm *m-a* doom. domes *gs.* 7, 9, 56, 65

dōn *anom vb* do. dyde *past 3s.* 38

draca *m-ōn* dragon, devil, serpent. draca *ns*; dracan *np.* 44; 43

Dryhten *m-a* lord. drihten *n/as.* 10, 58, 70

dyde see dōn.

ēac *adv* also. 7, 10, 75

ēage *n-ōn* eye. eageña, eagana *gp.* 54

ealdordēofol *m-a* chief of the devils. ealdordeofol *as*; ealdordeofle *ds.* 28; 48

eall *adj* all. eall, eal *nsn*; ealle *npm*; ealle *npf*; ealle *apf*; ealle *apn*; eallum *dpm.* 70, 71; 3, 40, 44; 61, 72; 24, [39]; 37; 71

eall *adv* quite, just. *eal*. 75
earm *adj* miserable, wretched. *earman* *apf*. 38
earnian *wv* 2 merit. *geearnode*, *earnode* *past* 3s. 73–74
ēce *adj* etern. *ece* *asn*. 78
eft *adv* after. 47
egeful *adj* dire, inspiring terror. *egesfulre* *dsf*. 24
egeslic *adj* terrible. *egeslice* *apm*. 50
Elias *Elijah* the Tishbite. *elias* *ns*. 5
embe *see* *ymbe*.
ende *m-ja* end. *ende* *a/ds*. 62, 79
engel *m-a* angel (< *Lat* *angelus*). *englas* *np*; *engla* *gp*; *englum* *dp*. 17; 11; 71
Enoch *Enoch* father of Methuselah. *enohc*, *enoch* *ns*. 6
eom *anom* *vb* am. is *pres* 3s; *sindon*, *syndon*, *syndan*, *synd* *pres* *pl*. *See also*
beon, *wesan*. 26, 27, 31, 33, 41, etc.; 30, 31, 40, 40, 43, 43, 56
eorðe *f-ōn* earth. *eorðan* *a/ds*. 6, 34
eow *see* *gē*.

feallan *sv* 7 fall. *feallað* *pres* *pl*. 69
feohtan *sv* 3 fight. *feohtað* *pres* *pl*. 15
fīf *card* *num* *adj* five. *indecl*. 11, 12
finger *m-a* finger. *fingre* *ds*; *fingras* *ap*. 51; 50
for *prep* with *d/a* for. 20, 53, 72, 77
forhtian *wv* 2 be afraid. *forhtiað* *pres* *pl*. 72
forswelgan *sv* 3 swallow up, devour. *forswelgð*, *forswelhð* *pres* 3s. 45, 46
forðam *conj* because. *forþam*, *forðam*. 4, 18–19, 65
forðy *conj* because. 11, 54
fram *prep* with *d* from. 61
frymð *f-ō* beginning. *frymðe* *ds*. 61
fūl *adj* rotten, foul. *fulum* *dsm*. 44
fȳr *n-a* fire. *fyr* *ns*; *fyr* *as*; *fyr* *gs*; *fyre* *ds*. 56; 76; 67; 41
fȳren *adj* burning. *fyrenum* *dpf*. 52

gē *pers* *pron* 2pl you. *eow* *d*. 5
gehwylc *indef* *pron* each. *gehwylc*, *gehwilc* *nsn*. 50
genip *n-a* darkness. *gehnipes*, *genipes* *gs*. 67
geoguð *f-i* youth. *geogoðe* *ds*. 57–58
gēomrung *f-ō* grief. *geomerunge* *a/ds*. 21
gesceaft *f-i* creature. *gesceafta* *np*. 72

gestrēon *n-a* property, treasure. **gestreone** *ds.* [19]

gewyrht *f/n-i* merit, deed. **gewyrhtum** *dp.* 73

gif *conj* if. 16

God *m-a* God. **God** *as*; **Godes** *gs.* 2; 1, 37, 72, 78

gōd *n-a* good. **gode** *ds.* 38

gōd *adj* good. **godan** *a/dsf.* 16

grimlic *adj* terrible. **grimlic** *nsn.* 32

grimlice *adv* cruelly. 23

grimm *adj* dire. **grimra** (*comp*) *nsm.* 33

grīstbitung *f-ō* gnashing. **gristbitung** *ns.* 54

habban *wv* 3 have. **habban** *inf*; **hæfð** *pres* 3s; **hæfde** *subj, past* 3s. 64; 49, 50; 59, 60

hæfda *see* **heafod**.

hæte *f-ōn* heat. **hætan** *gs.* 55

hæt *adj* hot. **hattre**, **hatre** (*comp*) *nsf.* 56

hē, **hēo**, **hit** *pers pron* 3s he, she, it. **he** *nsm*; **heo** *nsf*; **hit** *nsn*; **hy**, **hi** *asf and n/ap*; **his** *gsm*; **hyre** *g/dsf*; **heora**, **hyra** *gp*; **him** *dp.* 2, 5, 11, 49, 49, etc.; 19, 24, 37, 38, 48, etc.; 65; 7, 15, 17, 17, 23, 36, etc.; 69, 71, 73; 19, 24, 37, 38, 48, etc.; 46, 53; 15

hēafod *n-a* head. **heafda**, **hæfda** *gp.* 49, 50, 59, 60

hēahsetl *n-a* judgment throne. **heahsetle** *ds.* 37

gehealdan *sv* 7 receive, hold. **gehealden** *pp.* 2

hell *f-jō* hell. **helle**, **hylle** *gs*; **helle** *ds.* 12, 39, 63; 40, 42, 51, 54, 62

hellegrund *m-a* abyss of hell. **hellegrundes** *gs.* 29

helwaru/-e/-an *f-ō, m-i/ōn* (*only pl*) inhabitants of hell. **helwarum** *dp.* rubric
heo, **heora** *see* **hē**.

heofon *m-a* heaven. **heofena**, **heofona** *gp*; **heofonan**, **heofonum** *dp.* 70; 3, 6, 69, 78-79

heofonwaru/-e/-an *f-ō, m-i/ōn* (*only pl*) inhabitants of heaven. **heofonwarum** *dp.* rubric

hēr *adv* here. 1, 26, 38, 73

hī, **him**, **his**, **hit** *see* **hē**.

hider *adv* hither, to this side. 6

gehīeran *wv* 1 hear. **gehyran** *inf*; **gehyrdan** *past pl.* 1, 11; 75

hrēowsian *wv* 2 do penance, sorrow. **reowsian** *inf.* 53-54

hū *adv* how. 8

hund *n* (*usually indecl*) hundred. **hund**, **hynd**, *abbrev as c.* 49, 50, 51, 59, 60

hungor *m-u* hunger. **hunger** ns. 55
 hūs *n-a* house, dwelling-place. **hus** ns. 32
 hwā, hwæt *interr and indef pron* who, what. **hwæt** asn. 34
 hwīl *f-ō* while, time. **þa hwile þe conj** whilst. 63
 hȳ, hyra, hyre *see* hē.
 hylle *see* helle.
 hynd *see* hund.

ic *pers pron 1s I.* ic n. 5
 ieldo *f-īn* old age. **ylde** ns. 57
 in *prep with d in.* [28], 43
 innan *prep with g/d/a* inside. 51
 is *see* eom.
 īsen *adj of iron.* ysene, isene *dsm and npf.* 40, 61

gelædan *wv 1* lead, take. **gelæt, læt pres 3s; gelædað imp 2pl; gelæd,**
gelædd pp. 36, 39; 23; 48
 lēof *adj* dear. **leofestan (sup) npm.** 1, 59
 lēoht *n-a* light. **leoht as; leohte ds.** 69; 57
 licgan *sv 5* lie. **lið pres 3s.** 28, 51
 lichama *m-ōn* body. **lichaman ds.** 23
 geliefan *wv 1* believe. **gelyfan inf.** 1, 2
 līeg *m-i* fire, flame. **lige ds.** 44
 lif *n-a* life. **lif as; life ds.** 64, 78; 34
 lið *see* licgan.
 lufian *wv 2* love. **lufadest, lufedest past 2s.** 34, 35
 gelyfan *see* geliefan.

ma, me *see* man.
 mægen *n-a* army, power, force. **mægen** ns. 70
 magan *pret pres vb (uncertain class)* may, can. **mæg pres 3s; magon pres pl;**
mihton past pl. 76; 64, 64; 62
 man *indef pron* one. **man, me, ma** ns. 39, 39, 58
 mancynn *n-ja* mankind. **mancyn, mancynn** ns. 71
 mann *m athem* person, man. **man** ns; **men ds and np; mannum dp.** 4; 1, 59,
 73; 53
 mære *see* micel.
 men *see* mann.

micel *adj* great. **mycel**, **micel** *nsf*; **mare** (*comp*) *nsf*; **micele** *npf*; **maran** (*comp*) *np*. 26; 27; 30; 31

mid *prep* with *d/a* with. 11, 44, 44, 52, 64, etc.

mihtig *adj* powerful. **mihtig** *nsf*. 35

mihton *see* **magan**.

mōna *m-ōn* moon. **mona** *ns*. 69

gemunan *pret pres vb* 4 remember, consider think. **gemunan** *inf*. 3

mūð *m-a* mouth. **muð** *as*. 46, 47

mycel *see* **micel**.

myndgian *wv* 2 remind, mention. **mynegað** *pres 3s*. 39

nama *m-ōn* name. **naman** *ds*. 78

ne *negating adv* no, not. 58, 58, 62, 69

nearones *f-jō* oppression, distress. **nearunes** *ns*; **nearunessa** *gp*. 26; 67

nemnan *wv* 1 invoke. **nemnað** *pres 3s*. 58

nellað *see* **willan**.

neowolnes *f-jō* abyss, depth. **neowelnesse** *ds*. 29

nigon *card num adj* nine. **nigon** *indecl*. 55-56

niman *sv* 4 take. **nimð** *pres 3s*. 36

noalde *see* **willan**.

of *prep* with *d* from. 6, 9, 19, 23, 69, 71

on *prep* with *d* and *a* on, in. 2, 2, 4, 6, 8, etc.

onbūtan *prep* with *a/d* around, about. 40

ondrysenlic *adj* terrible. **andryslic** *nsm*. 49, 65

onfindan *sv* 3 perceive. **onfint** *pres 3s*. 24

onfōn *sv* 7 receive. **onfon** *inf*; **onfon** *subj, pres pl*; **onfeng** *past 3s*. 7; 8; 5

ongietan *sv* 5 judge, perceive. **ongytað** *pres pl*. 16

oð *prep* with *a* until. 61

oðer *indef adj and pron* other, one of two, second, following. **oþer**, **oðer** *nsn*; **oþrum**, **oðrum** *dsm/n*; **oþre siðe** for the second time. 13, 14; 22, 46, 47; 29-30

racentēah *f-ē* chain. **raceteagum** *dp*. 52

rēad *adj* red. **readum** *dsm/n*. 41, 44

rūmheortlice *adv* generously. 77

Sanctus Michael the Archangel Michael. *ns*. 36

Sanctus Paulus St. Paul the Apostle. *ns*. 20

Satanas Satan. 48

sāw(o)l *f-ō* soul. sawle, sawl *ns* and *as/p*; sawla *n/gp*. 16, 17, 18, 23, 26, etc.; 21, 42

sculan *pret pres vb* 4 shall, have to. sculon, sculan, scylan *pres pl*. 3, 7, 7, 8, 12, etc.

sē, sēo, þæt *def art and dem adj and pron* the, that. se *nsm*; seo *nsf*; þæt *n/asn*; þone *asm*; þa, ða *asf and n/ap*; þam, þan *dsm and dp*; þære *dsf*; þara, þæra *gp*. 2, 4, 4, 32, 44, etc.; 13, 26, 29, 31, 76; 23, 62, 64; 28; 1, 9; 12, 23, 43, 45, 48, etc.; 28; 13, 20, 49, 60

secgan *wv* 3 say. secgan *inf*; secge *pres 1s*. 75; 5

sellan *wv* 1 supply, provide, give. sylleð, syllað, syllð *pres 3s*; syllan *imp 1pl*. 69, 78; 77

seofon *card num* adj seven. seofan *indecl*. 15

gesēon *sv* 5 see. gesyxt *2s, pres*; gesyhð *pres 3s*. 28, 33–34; 37

sindon *see eom*.

sīð *m-a* time. siðe *ds*; siþan, siðum, syþan, siðan *dp*. 30; 15, 56

sorg *f-ō* sorrow. sorga *gp*. 66

sōð *n-a* truth. soþan *dp*. 5

sōðfæst *adj* just. soðfæstan *asf*. 36

sprecan *sv* 5 speak. sprecað *pres pl*; spræcon *past pl*. 13; 61

gestāl *n-a* confession, accusation. stal *as*. 11

stenc *m-ja* smell. stænce, stence *ds*. 44

steorra *m-ōn* star. steorra *np*. 69

storm *m-a* tempest. storma *gp*. 66

stōw *f-wō* place. stowe *ds*. 24

sum *indef adj and pron* a certain, one, a certain one. sum *ns*. 22, 27, 30

sunne *f-ōn* sun. sunne *ns*. 15, 68

swā *adv and conj* so, as. 14, 14, 46, 73, 75, 76

sweart *adj* dark, black. sweart, swart *nsn*. 14

swīgian *wv* 2 become silent. swygað *pres 3s*. 13

swīðe *adv* very, really. swiðe, swyþe, swyðe. 10, 18, 20, 49

gesyhð, gesyxt *see gesēon*.

syllan *see sellan*.

synd, syndon *see eom*.

synderlic *adj* separate. synderlic *nsf*. 41

synn *f-jō* sin. synna *ap*; synnum *dp*. 35, 77; 53, 78

syððan *adv* later. syþþan, syððan. 48

tācen *m-a* sign. tacne *ds.* 6

tēð see tōð.

tintreg(a) *m/n* torture. tintregum *dp.* 63

tō *prep* with *d* to, in, for, as. 5, 6, 22, 23, 24, etc.

tōcuman *sv* 4 come, arrive. tocymð *pres* 3s. 10–11

tōcyme *m-i* coming. tocume, tocyme *a/ds.* 72

tōð *m* athen tooth. teð *np*; toþa, toða *gp.* 13; 54

tōweard *prep* with *d* in front of. 27, 31, 33

tunge *f-ōn* tongue. tunge *ns*; tungan *gp.* 13; 50, 59

twelf *card num adj* twelve. abbrev *as* xii. 40, 43, 43

twēo *m-ōn* doubt. tweon *ds.* 33

ðā *adv and conj* then, when. See also sē. 34

ðær *adv and conj* there, where. þær, þar. 37, 54, 55, 56, 57

ðære, ðæm, ðæra see sē.

ðæt *conj* that. abbrev. See also sē. 3, 5, 17

ðe *indecl rel particle* who, which, that. See also ðu. 2, 4, 12, 28, 38, etc.

ðeah *conj* though. 59

geðencan *wv* 1 think, remember. gepencan *inf.* 8

ðeostru *f-in* shadow. þystro *gs and np.* 30, 57, 68

ðēs, ðeos, ðis *dem adj and pron* this. þis *nsn*; þysse, þisse, þyssere, þissere *g/dsf.* 30, 31; 4, 61, 74

ðīn *poss adj* 2s your. þinum *dsn.* 34

ðing *n-a* act, deed. þing, þinc *ap.* 64

ðone see sē.

ðonne *adv and conj* then, when, than. 9, 14, 15, 17, 20, etc.

ðū *pron pers* 2s you. þu *n*; þe *d.* 27, 33, 34, 34, 35; 27, 31, 33

ðurhfaran *sv* 6 traverse. þurhfaran *inf.* 42

ðurst *m-i* thirst. þurst *ns.* 55

ðūsend *num adj and sb* thousand. þusend *ap*; þusendan *dp.* 11; 12

ðysse, ðyssere see ðēs.

ðystro see ðeostru.

ungemet *n-a* excess. ungemet *ns.* 55

unriht *adj* unlawful. unrihta, unrihte *apf.* 35

unrōt *adj* sad, displeased. unrote *npm.* 18

unrōtnes *f-jō* contrition. unrotnessa *gp.* 65–66

ūre *poss adj* 2p our. urne *asm*; urum *dpf.* 2; 77

ute *see* wītan.

wā *interj* woe. 53

wære, wæs *see* wesan.

wærlice *adv* warily. 10

wæter *n-a* water. wæter *ns*. 75

warnian *uv* 2 warn. warnian *inf*. 63

we *pers pron 1pl* we. we *n*; us *a/d*; ure *g*. 3, 7, 8, 8, 10, etc.; 6, 9, 10, 63, 64, etc.; 10, 11, 13, 77

weall *m-a* wall. wealle, wæalle *ds*; weallas, wæallas *np*; weallum *dp*. 41; 40; 43

weorc *n-a* action, deed. weorc *ap*. 38

wēpan *sv* 7 weep. wepð *pres 3s*. 20

werlice *see* wærlice

werod *n-a* troop, host, band. weroda *gp*. 13-14

wesan *sv* 5 be. wære *past 2s*; wæs *past 3s*; wæron *past pl*. *See also* beon, eom. 35; 4; 60

willan *anom vb* will, want. wyle, wile *pres 3s*; nellað (< ne willað) *pres pl*; nolde (< ne wolde) *past 3s*. 2, 11; 53; 19

wītan *sv* 1 go. ute (< wuton) *subj, 1pl (used to introduce an imperative or hortatory clause: let us)*. 1, 3, 63

wīte *n-ja* punishment, torture. wite *ds*. 23

wītuncstōw *f-wō* place of punishment. wituncstow *ns*. 42

wið *prep* with *d* against. 63

wiðinnan *prep* with *d* within. 41

wōp *m-a* lamentation. wop *ns*. 54

word *n-a* word. word *as*; worda *gp*. 1; 13-14

woruld *f-ō* world. worulde *a/g/ds*. 4-5, [19], 38, 61, 74

woruldgestrēon *n-a* worldly riches. woruldgestreonum *dp*. 19

wracu *f-ō* punishment. wracena *gp*. 67

wyrste *see* yfel.

yfel *n-a* misery. yfel *as*. 62

yfel *adj* bad. yfelan *asf*; yfela *apf*; wyrste (*sup*) *nsn*. 16; [39]; 24

yfeldæd *f-i* wicked deed. yfeldæda *a/gp*. 25, 39

ylde *see* ieldo.

ymbe *prep* with *a* about. embe. 16

ȳsene *see* īsen.

ȳtemest *adj* extreme, uttermost. ytemestan *npf*. 57

CHARLES D. WRIGHT

More Old English Poetry in Vercelli Homily XXI

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN Old English poetry and Old English prose is one that Anglo-Saxonists are accustomed to take for granted, fixed as it is in the bibliographical tools of the trade. Our major collective editions of Old English texts are the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* and the *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*,¹ the Greenfield-Robinson *Bibliography* as well as the serial bibliographies in the *Old English Newsletter* and *Anglo-Saxon England*² divide the secondary literature along the same lines; and in the original "Cameron List" of Old English texts, the first and highest order of discrimination reflected a text's presumed status as either poetry or prose, with poems assigned the letter A and continuous prose texts the letter B.³

¹ C. W. M. Grein, R. P. Wülker, and Hans Hecht, ed., *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, 13 vols. (Kassel, 1872-1933); G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, 6 vols. (New York and London, 1931-1953).

² Stanley Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson, *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (Toronto, 1980); *Old English Newsletter* (1967-); *Anglo-Saxon England* (1972-).

³ Angus Cameron, "A List of Old English Texts," in *A Plan for a Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron (Toronto, 1973), 25-306. The revised *List of Texts and Index of Editions*, ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey and Richard Venezky (Toronto, 1995), retains this notation but lists all texts alphabetically by abbreviated titles.

This is a sensible and serviceable practical means of organizing the surviving corpus of Old English literature. Yet precisely because the distinction between poetry and prose is so basic to our conception of Old English texts, we have less effective means for categorizing and understanding those texts that fall betwixt and between these two modes, or that combine them freely. The *Prose Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Dialogue*, for example, which occurs in the unique manuscript between two *Solomon and Saturn* poems, and whose opening line is not visually marked as the beginning of a new and different text, has become something of an editorial and bibliographical exile. All editors of the metrical dialogues have banished it to an appendix, although it is possible to regard it as part of a single prosimetric (or rather versiprose) work, at least in the intention of the compiler of the manuscript.⁴ To add insult to injury, the prose dialogue was even left out of the corpus in the original Cameron List.⁵

More problematic than such occasional interlopers are texts that inhabit what E. G. Stanley has called "the borderland between verse and prose."⁶ Old English charms, for example, often shift stylistic registers, alternating between (loosely) metrical and non-metrical passages, thereby complicating efforts of bibliographers and editors alike to separate "metrical charms" from "prose charms."⁷ Stanley would regard the "metrical"

⁴ On prosimetrum as a literary form, see *Prosimetrum: Crosscultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, ed. Joseph Harris and Karl Reichl (Cambridge, 1997).

⁵ As pointed out by Thomas D. Hill, "The Devil's Forms and the Pater Noster's Powers: 'The Prose Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Dialogue' and the Motif of the Transformation Combat," *Studies in Philology* 85 (1988): 164–76, here 164. It was included in the revised *List of Texts* as Sol II (B.5.3).

⁶ E. G. Stanley, "Alliterative Ornament and Alliterative Rhythmical Discourse in Old High German and Old Frisian Compared with Similar Manifestations in Old English," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 106 (1984): 185–217; E. G. Stanley, "The Judgment of the Damned (from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 and Other Manuscripts), and the Definition of Old English Verse," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 363–91. Fred C. Robinson and E. G. Stanley, *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 23 (Copenhagen, 1993), 3, note that "some texts are on a borderline between verse and prose, and decisions as to what should be included at times become delicate."

⁷ Krapp and Dobbie selected a total of twelve "metrical charms" for inclusion in vol. 6 of ASPR; the *List of Texts* classifies all charms either as metrical (MCharm) or prose (Charm). Stephanie Hollis and Michael Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature, 4 (Cambridge, 1992), 2–3, note that five extracts from *Lacnunga* and one from Bald's *Leechbook* are classified as

charms as a "kind of very loose rhythmical discourse" which lacks not only the strict metrical form of "classical" Old English verse but also distinctively poetic vocabulary.⁸

An earlier attempt to chart this "borderland" was made by Angus McIntosh in a 1949 British Academy lecture,⁹ though what he provided was more along the lines of an explorer's sketch-map than an Ordnance Survey sheet. Declaring that "there is not just verse on the one hand, . . . and prose on the other," McIntosh distinguished what he called five "different ways of writing in the Old English period."¹⁰ The first of these types is "classical" Old English verse, which McIntosh defined with some detachment or perhaps impatience as comprising those texts which "obey the rules of Sievers or Heusler or Pope according to which school of thought you belong to. . . ."¹¹ The second type is what he called "debased" verse, texts whose half-lines are joined either by alliteration or end-rhyme or both, but which do not obey the "rules" of classical verse, or which, at best, do so with some detachment or perhaps impatience. McIntosh stated that debased verse has not survived "in any quantity," and discussed only two "notable" examples, both poems from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: *The Death of Alfred* and *The Death of Edgar*.¹² Since McIntosh stated that the

metrical charms in the original Cameron list of texts; while conceding that the classification system has been questioned, they exclude these extracts because the literature on them "is inextricably embedded in studies of Old English poetry"; see now Russell Poole, *Old English Wisdom Poetry*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature 5 (Cambridge, 1998), 154.

⁸ Stanley, "Alliterative Ornament," 196–97, 203.

⁹ Angus McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 34 (1949): 109–42; repr. with an additional note in *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1990), 111–44.

¹⁰ McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 110. McIntosh also refers to them as "clearly separable stylistic genres."

¹¹ McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 110.

¹² The poems are edited in ASPR 6: 22–25 (*Edgar* from the A-text of the *Chronicle*, with variants from B and C; *Alfred* from C, with variants from D). McIntosh also refers to the three-line poem on the shield of Eadwen, ed. by Friedrich Kluge, "Zur Geschichte des Reimes im Altgermanischen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 9 (1884): 422–50, here 447. He further suggests (113 and n. 7) that a passage from pseudo-Wulfstan XXX, ed. A. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* (1883; repr. Dublin/Zürich, 1967), 146.31–147.6, is a specimen of debased verse without end-rhyme, but cautions that such passages "may be nothing more than paraphrases of real poems."

classical style was still being used in the post-Conquest poem *Durham*, he presumably would also have regarded as "classical" verse such late Old English poems as *Judgment Day II* or *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, which likewise exhibit various departures from the strict rules of Sievers or Heusler or Pope. From a more rigorist point of view one might argue, as Thomas Cable has done, that *Durham* itself "shows a clear break from the classical meter of Old English poetry."¹³ But the two verse types were not McIntosh's primary focus, and though he acknowledged that classical verse could be further divided into subtypes, he did not pursue the matter.

McIntosh's remaining three types are reserved for texts generally regarded as prose; these he arranged in descending order of verse-likeness, the highest in rank being the rhythmical homilies of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. Although this third type is also composed of half-lines linked by alliteration, the metrical form is generally much looser than that of classical verse, the alliteration is not restricted to main stresses, and "poetic" words are generally avoided. The fourth type, to which McIntosh devoted the greatest attention, is the two-stress prose rhythm of Wulfstan, while the fifth is that of "ordinary prose," meaning prose that does not employ the kinds of rhythmical devices found in the third and fourth types. All five types, then, are distinguished by rhythmical criteria, though McIntosh preferred to avoid what he called the "terminological problem" of deciding "how many of these five are 'verse' and how many are 'prose'."¹⁴ Yet he plainly labelled texts belonging to the first two types "poems" and those belonging to the last two types "prose"; as for the third, he was content to observe that while Ælfric's *Life of Saint Oswald* "may be verse, it is hardly poetry."¹⁵

In her recent book *The Composition of Old English Poetry*, Haruko Momma has drawn out the implications of McIntosh's typology of styles, in an effort to construct what she calls a "hierarchy of verse-likeness."¹⁶ As she points out, in McIntosh's largely implicit hierarchy alliteration and

¹³ Thomas Cable, *The English Alliterative Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1991), 52; see also idem, "Metrical Style as Evidence for the Date of *Beowulf*," in *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. Colin Chase (Toronto, 1981), 77–82.

¹⁴ McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 110.

¹⁵ McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 111.

¹⁶ Haruko Momma, *The Composition of Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 20 (Cambridge, 1997), esp. 8–27.

long-line structure are placed higher than metre; yet while these are certainly essential features of Old English poetry, they do not enable us to distinguish between texts universally accepted as poetry and certain alliterative texts generally regarded as prose. Moreover, unlike McIntosh, she does not believe that adherence to the rules of any existing metrical "school of thought" is sufficient to separate the sub-set "poetry" from the larger set of alliterative texts. Instead, she focuses on features of prosodical syntax, using a hierarchy of word-classes based upon Kuhn's Laws of sentence elements.

If studies such as these have attempted to isolate prosodical criteria that might help us to define those characteristics that distinguish poetry from prose, others focusing on vocabulary have shown that while there are indeed many words whose attestations are concentrated on one side or the other of the borderline between verse and prose, they do sometimes cross over. Roberta Frank, for example, has noted a variety of "Poetic Words in Late Old English Prose," while Eric Stanley has made a census of "The Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse."¹⁷ Mary Richards has even coined the term "prosaic poetry" in reference to a group of late Old English didactic poems that show various metrical deviations from classical standards, and that freely employ prosaic vocabulary from the homiletic tradition.¹⁸

Special attention has also been devoted to certain vernacular homilies whose alliterative and rhythmic style more or less closely approaches the techniques we usually associate with poetry. The debate over whether Ælfric was a poet has largely subsided since the appearance of John C. Pope's supplementary edition of Ælfrician homilies. Although Pope printed these homilies in long verse lines, he unambiguously categorized them as "rhythmical prose," which he defined as follows: "a loosely metrical form resembling in basic structural principles the alliterative verse of the Old English poets, but differing markedly in the character and range of its rhythms

¹⁷ Roberta Frank, "Poetic Words in Late Old English Prose," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcolm Godden et al. (Oxford, 1994), 87-107; E. G. Stanley, "Studies in the Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1971): 385-418.

¹⁸ Mary Richards, "Prosaic Poetry: Late Old English Poetic Composition," in *Old English and New: Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy*, ed. Joan H. Hall et al. (New York, 1992), 63-75.

as in strictness of alliterative practice, and altogether distinct in diction, rhetoric, and tone."¹⁹ What McIntosh characterized as Wulfstan's "two-stress" prose rhythm has also been the subject of further analysis, most recently by Andy Orchard, who argues that in certain respects its formulaic character is similar to the oral-traditional style of vernacular verse; but he does not go so far as to call the *Sermo Lupi* poetry.²⁰

Beyond the comparatively familiar terrain of these two major Anglo-Saxon homilists lies the ill-defined grey area of the anonymous homilies, whose rhetorical landscape is sometimes marked by higher elevations of what Otto Funke has called rhythmic and alliterative prose.²¹ Among such verse-like outcroppings the most prominent is a description of the Last Judgment that occurs in variant form in Vercelli homilies II and XXI and in a sermon in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201.²² In his edition of selected Vercelli homilies, Max Förster already remarked on the "poetically heightened" language of Vercelli II and on the "metrical form" of this particular passage, which he printed in verse lines.²³ The corresponding passage in Vercelli XXI was also printed in verse lines by Paul Szarmach,²⁴ and while Donald Scragg prints both passages as prose

¹⁹ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 105; Sherman M. Kuhn, "Was Ælfric a Poet?" *Philological Quarterly* 52 (1973): 643–62. On the editorial implications, see Paul E. Szarmach, "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmical Prose and the Computer Age," in *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge, 1998), 95–108.

²⁰ Andy Orchard, "Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992): 239–64.

²¹ Otto Funke, "Studien zur alliterierenden und rhythmisierenden Prosa in der älteren altenglischen Homiletik," *Anglia* 80 (1962): 9–36. On rhythmical prose in homiletic texts see also D. R. Letson, "The Poetic Content of the Revival Homily," in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. Paul Szarmach and B. F. Huppé (Albany, 1978), 139–56; Herbert Pilch and Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Altenglische Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1979), 86–87, 137; H. Tristram, *Early Insular Preaching: Verbal Artistry and Method of Composition*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 623; Veröffentlichungen der keltischen Kommission (Vienna, 1995), 11–15; Reichl and Harris, "Introduction," in *Prosimetrum*, 1–16, here 8–10.

²² For the relationship of these texts, see D. G. Scragg, "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before Ælfric," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 223–77, here 229, 232, 251, 260.

²³ Max Förster, "Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift," in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, ed. F. Holthausen and F. Spies, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* 50 (Halle, 1913), 66.

²⁴ Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies IX–XXIII* (Toronto, 1981), 86–87.

in his standard complete edition of the Vercelli Homilies, he acknowledges their poetic form, suggesting that this may have been a feature of the homilist's own style, and not necessarily evidence of a borrowing from Old English poetry.²⁵ A more detailed study of this "poetically heightened" text has been made by Stanley, who focused on the version in the Corpus Christi College manuscript.²⁶ Stanley's larger concern was to illustrate how difficult it can sometimes be to distinguish between verse and prose, but he nonetheless decided in favour of verse for this passage, which he edited as a "newly-won" poetic text entitled "The Judgement of the Damned." Although Stanley conceded that its metre is "far from ideal," it has been accepted as poetry by scholars such as R. D. Fulk;²⁷ and while Stanley did not attempt to slot this new "poem" into McIntosh's hierarchy of verse types, Haruko Momma would add it to the exiguous corpus of "debased verse."²⁸

There is even more "poetry," however, accompanying the version of "The Judgment of the Damned" in Vercelli homily XXI. McIntosh characterized much of the remainder of this homily as rhythmical prose composed in two-stress phrases; but he was also able to extract from it a five-line passage of classical verse, which he regarded as a fragment of an otherwise lost Old English poem:

we syndon deadlice men and to duste sceolan
 on worulde wurðan wurmum to æte
 and of eorðan eft ealle arisan
 (MS. eorðan we sceolan eft)
 on domes dæge and drihtene sylfum
 ætywan eall þæt we ær dydon.²⁹

Although McIntosh did have to make one emendation in his third line, this salvaged fragment has been widely accepted as genuine, and was in-

²⁵ D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o.s. 300 (Oxford, 1992), 51, referring to ll. 39–51 of Vercelli II.

²⁶ Stanley, "The Judgement of the Damned."

²⁷ R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia, 1992), 264.

²⁸ Momma, *The Composition of Old English Poetry*, 13–14.

²⁹ As printed by McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 141, n. 29 (= Vercelli XXI, ed. Scragg, 356.128–131).

incorporated into Madeleine Bergman's Supplement to *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*.³⁰

But this is not all. McIntosh pointed out that yet another passage in Vercelli XXI corresponded to one in pseudo-Wulfstan homily XXX that Leslie Whitbread had identified as a prose adaptation of a surviving Old English poem, *An Exhortation to Christian Living*.³¹ Whitbread subsequently compared what he termed the "prose dilution" of *Exhortation* in Vercelli XXI with the surviving text of the poem, showing that the homily had preserved a few superior readings even though the poetic form had been seriously disrupted. Whitbread's conclusion that the Vercelli homilist had borrowed from a variant text of the poem seems to have gone unquestioned until J. E. Cross suggested in 1987 that in fact "the listing, and sometimes alliterating, prose has been turned with a little difficulty into verse. . . ."³² This seems to me unlikely, however, and I would agree with Scragg, who has reasserted the traditional view of the relationship between the poem and the homily.³³ Moreover, Scragg further suggests that in

³⁰ Madeleine Bergman, "Supplement to a Concordance to 'The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records'," *Mediaevalia* 8 (1985 for 1982): 9–52, here 15.

³¹ McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 130, n. 7, referring to Leslie Whitbread, "Two Notes on Minor Old English Poems," *Studia Neophilologica* 20 (1947–48): 192–98. The passage in question is Vercelli XXI, ed. Scragg, 357.149–55, corresponding to Napier, *Wulfstan*, 145.33–146.8 and *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, ll. 2–15. For convenience I will continue to refer to this poem by its traditional title, although Fred C. Robinson has given strong reasons for believing that *Exhortation* and *A Summons to Prayer*, which occur together in the manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201), are in fact a single poem (which he calls *The Rewards of Piety*). See "The Rewards of Piety: Two Old English Poems in their Manuscript Context," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany, 1989), 193–200. For a facsimile of this portion of the manuscript, see Robinson and Stanley, *Old English Verse Texts*. For qualification of Robinson's view of the manuscript layout of *Exhortation* and *Summons*, see Thomas A. Bredehoft, "A Note on Robinson's *Rewards of Piety*," *Notes and Queries* 243 (1988): 5–8. See also Graham D. Caie, "Text and Context in Editing Old English: The Case of the Poetry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201," in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Woodbridge, 1994), 155–62.

³² James E. Cross, *Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 25: A Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers*, King's College London Medieval Studies 1 (London, 1987), 149–50.

³³ Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, 348, n. 3. In addition to the reasons given by Scragg, I would note the improbable serendipity that would have enabled the versifier of *Exhortation* to construct three perfectly alliterating long lines (ll. 4–6, the first two with double alliteration in the on-verse) simply by transposing three phrases that happen to yield metrical "half-lines" yet are all mateless in the prose. It is much more likely that the homi-

lines 128 through 141 of the homily — that is, in the passage immediately following the fragment of classical verse extracted by McIntosh — “Alliteration . . . suggests dependence upon a poem which has been lost.”³⁴ To my knowledge there has been no further discussion of this particular passage. McIntosh stated that the verse “breaks down” after the fragment he isolated, and whether or not the passage following it is ultimately based on a lost poem, as it stands it does not preserve the degree of coherent alliterative and metrical form as does even the prose dilution of *Exhortation* some twenty lines later, and it could not readily be turned into verse without fairly extensive editorial reconstruction.

I think it is possible, however, to recognize poetic form and intent in a passage which seems generally to have been overlooked, a description of the fall of the rebel angels that occurs immediately between the loosely alliterative passage in lines 128–141 and the prose dilution of *Exhortation*. McIntosh did not specifically discuss this passage. Though it is part of a larger section of the homily which he identified as being composed in two-stress phrases, he seems to have regarded it as rhythmic prose similar to Wulfstan’s. Nor did Whitbread recognize these lines’ poetic form, enough of which survives intact to argue that it, too, may be a remnant of a lost Old English poem.³⁵

The following optimally emended verse lineation of the passage on the rebel angels does not pretend to be an edition, but is simply intended to reveal what I believe to be the passage’s essentially poetic form. Even without emendation, much of it can readily be divided into verse lines constructed of half-lines with regular caesura and linked by alliteration. Seventeen out of twenty-six half-lines scan acceptably without any emendation, and nine of eleven long lines alliterate, although in three of these

list disturbed the regular alliteration of these long lines in the poem by recasting their syntax into normal prose order.

³⁴ Scragg, *The Vercelli Homilies*, 348, referring to lines 128–141.

³⁵ L. G. Whitbread, “Wulfstan Homilies XXIX, XXX and Some Related Texts,” *Anglia* 81 (1963): 347–64, stated that the entire section of Napier XXX, 144.29–147.6, “is phrased in a somewhat poetic manner” (354), but he specifically identified as “verse adaptations” only those passages isolated by McIntosh, together with the lines based on *Exhortation*. He argued (360) that the passage corresponding to the Vercelli XXI sequence on the fall of the angels (i.e., Napier, 145.19–32) was built up by the homilist from a single sentence of Napier XXIX (134.18–21). The homily’s use of poetic epithets for God has been noted, but only in passing (see below, n. 39).

nine the alliteration is imperfect by classical standards, and two half-lines remain mateless. A transposition of word order as suggested below would restore alliteration in one of the remaining two long lines. Omissions that would improve the scansion or alliteration are indicated below by angle-brackets; transpositions are noted at the end of the passage. The scansion of each half-line is given in the margin; wherever it has been enabled or improved by emendation, the notation is enclosed in angle-brackets.

<C>		þurh oferhygædness>e	wurdon englas iu	<B1>
aA1		forsceapene to deoflum	7 bescofene eac	B1
B1		on helle grund,	þær hie sceolon	
B1		on worulda woruld	witu þolian,	A1
A3	5	for ðam þe hie forhogedon	heofona wealdend	A1
<A1>		⟨7⟩ sigora syllend,	7 him sylfum þær	B1
A1		rice mynton.	Ac him se ræd ne geþah,	B2
		ac se stiðmoda cyning,		
<A1>		⟨æl⟩mihtig dryhten,	þone modigan feond	B1
aA1	10	awearp of ðam setle	7 of ðam wuldre eac	B1
<A1>		⟨þæs⟩ heofonlic⟨a⟩n rices	ealle þa þe	
		⟨mid him⟩ æt ðam ræde wæron.		hA1
<A1>		Wiston hie þe geornor,	witum besette	A1
		on þære byrnendan helle,		
B1		wið hwæne hie	winnan ongunnon.	A1

= Vercelli XXI, ll. 141-49, with the following transpositions of word order:

1] englas wurdon

9-10] dryhten ælmihtig, awarep of ðam setle þone modigan feond

12] Hie wiston

[Through pride angels were once transformed into devils and also thrust down into the abyss of hell, where they must forever suffer torments, because they despised the ruler of the heavens, giver of victories, and intended to make for themselves a kingdom there. But that plan did not succeed for them, but the resolute king, the mighty Lord, cast the proud demon from his seat and likewise from the glory of the kingdom of heaven all those who were in league with him. Placed in torments in burning hell, they knew the more surely against whom they had set out to fight.]

To restore alliteration in my lines 9-10 it is necessary to transpose the phrase *þone modigan feond* so that it precedes rather than follows *awarep of þam setle*. This gives an acceptable line 10 with alliteration on *w*, but in line 9 it would also be necessary to emend *dryhten ælmihtig* to *mihtig dryhten* to create alliteration with *modigan*; the only alternative to emendation here (that is, apart from simply accepting a non-alliterating line) would be to assume that the accent falls on the second element of *ælmihtig*, as in fact it sometimes does in Ælfric's alliterative prose, where *ælmihtig* can alliterate on *m*.³⁶ There still remain two isolated half-lines and some metrical defects in the complete lines — at least according to the schools of Sievers, Heusler, and Pope. The alliteration, for example, is defective in line 3b, where it falls on the subject pronoun *hie*, and in 14a one has to assume h-deletion in *hwæne*, a rare though not unparalleled phenomenon in Old English poetry and in Ælfric's alliterative prose.³⁷ A serious

³⁶ See Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 118.

³⁷ D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Battle of Maldon* (Manchester, 1981), 78, cites several cases in "classical" Old English poems (*Christ I*, l. 188, *Judith*, l. 249, *Riddle 73*, l. 29); the first two of these involve the noun *hwearf* or the verb *hwearfan*, which may have had by-forms, as suggested by Mark Griffith, ed., *Judith* (Exeter, 1997), 134. Pope, *Supplementary*

breach of classical standards occurs in line 11a, where the alliteration falls on the noun *rices* in the second stressed position in preference to *heofonlican* (or a restored *heofona*) in the first. Elsewhere, however, the alliteration is regular, and most of the half-lines scan readily as Types A or B in Sievers's system. One could tidy up others with some minor emendations, as I have indicated above. Omitting *ond* in line 6a and reading *Wiston hie* instead of *Hie wiston* in 12a, for example, would eliminate irregular anacrusis on elements other than verbal prefixes and the negative particle. Omitting the words *mid him* in line 11b (an emendation which receives some support in a parallel passage from Vercelli IX [see n. 40, below]) would reduce the number of syllables in the onset of the hypermetric A-verse from eight to six. In lines 1 and 11a, however, more substantial interventions would be required to restore the metre, and 3b remains defective even if one assigns alliteration to the pronoun *hie*.

Many of the metrical deficiencies in the passage can, however, readily be paralleled in such "prosaic poetry" as *Seasons for Fasting*, *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, and *Instructions for Christians*. Here too one finds, for example, a heavy preponderance of A and B verses; a low proportion of double alliteration in the on-verse; anacrusis on elements other than verbal prefixes or the negative particle; and even occasional isolated half-lines or whole lines wanting alliteration altogether. Violations of Kuhn's Laws such as in line 1 are, of course, fairly common even in poetry that conforms more closely to classical standards. In the absence of a surviving verse original such as we have in *An Exhortation to Christian Living* for the passage immediately following, it is impossible to say how much of this could be attributed to faulty transmission; but comparison of the homily's prose dilution of *Exhortation* shows how various omissions, additions, and transpositions of word order have seriously disturbed the poem's metrical and alliterative form, eliminating alliteration from several lines in the poem and leaving several half-lines mateless.³⁸ While it is possible, as I

Homilies, 1: 129, n. 1, cites *Lives of Saints XI*, l. 90 (*gehwylyce : wæfer*) as well as *Supplementary Homily XXI*, l. 530 (*beworht : hwitum*); four other possible examples in Ælfric are indecisive. Cf. also N. F. Blake, "A Note on 'hw' in Old English," *Notes and Queries* 206 (1961): 165–66.

³⁸ See Whitbread, "Two Notes"; idem, "The Old English 'Exhortation to Christian Living': Some Textual Problems," *Modern Language Review* 44 (1949): 178–83; and idem, "Notes on the Old English *Exhortation to Christian Living*," *Studia Neophilologica* 23 (1951): 96–102.

have tried to show, to reconstruct editorially a text that more closely approaches classical standards, the main point of such an exercise is simply to indicate where the passage already conforms to those standards and where and to what extent it deviates from them.

It is, moreover, unnecessary to reconstruct or even to posit an unimpeachably classical "original" in order to vindicate this passage's claim to poetic status. For, in addition to having metrical and alliterative form that generally conforms to the standards of late Old English "prosaic poetry," the passage employs variation and uses some distinctively poetic vocabulary. Indeed, a tabulation of verbal and formulaic parallels with Old English poems yields results substantially beyond what might be expected from so-called "rhythmical and alliterative prose." The density of poetic diction surpasses as well those passages which are known to have been borrowed from *Judgement Day II* and *An Exhortation to Christian Living*:

1a] *Vainglory* 53a þurh oferhygda 3a] *Christ I* 265a, 562b in helle grund; cf. *Christ and Satan* 448b ah in helle grund, 454a hatne helle grund; *Soul and Body II* 98a secan helle grund; *Judgment Day I* 24b ac þær is helle grund 4a] *Andreas* 1686a in woruld worulda; *Paris Psalter* 91,6.6a, 101,25.4a, 103,6.3a, 103,29.2a, 105,37.2a, 110,8.2a, 131,15.2a, *Judgment Day II* 198a on worulda woruld 4b] *Genesis B* 323b Wite þoliað; *Genesis B* 367b and we þis wite þolien *Juliana* 340b witu geþoliað 5a] cf. *Paris Psalter* 106,39.1a Syððan hi forhogedan; *Christ III* 1633 ða þe her forhogdun heofonrices þrym *Andreas* 1381 syððan ðu forhogedes heofoncyniges word 5b] *Paris Psalter* 118,146.2b, *Meters of Boethius* 13.6b, 29.70b, *Genesis B* 2387b heofona w(e)aldend; *Phoenix* 631b heofuna waldend; cf. *Genesis B* 780a, *Christ II* 555b heofenes waldend 6a] *Juliana* 668a, *The Panther* 64a sigora sellend; *Juliana* 705a sigora syllend; cf. *Exodus* 16b sigora wealdend 6b] cf. *Phoenix* 282b He his sylfes þær; *Paris Psalter* 141,4.4b ne me sylfne þær 7b] cf. *Genesis A* 49a, 1446b, *Andreas* 1074b, *Beowulf* 2323b him seo wen gel(e)ah 8a] *Genesis B* 2425a stiðmod cyning; cf. *Christ and Satan* 246a, *Fates of the Apostles* 72b, *Dream of the Rood* 40a, *Beowulf* 2566a stiðmod; *Judith* 25a hu se stiðmoda 9a] cf. *Paris Psalter* 117,18.2a, 118,174.2a dryhten ælmihtig; *Paris Psalter* 52,6.1b et passim mihtig dryhten; *Exodus* 262a, *Instructions for Christians* 67b mihtig drihten 10] cf. *Solomon and Saturn* 464a aweorþ hine ða of ðam wuldre; *Genesis B* 300b

wearp hine of þan hean stole 12] cf. *Christ and Satan* 704 Wast þu þonne þe geornor þæt þu wið god wunne; *Beowulf* 821b wiste þe geornor; *Juliana* 556b Wiste he þi gearwor; *Andreas* 932b Wast nu þe gearwor; *Elene* 945b Wite ðu þegearwor 13] cf. *Genesis A* 77 þæs þe heo ongunnon wið gode winnan; *Christ III* 1526a þa aer wiþ gode wunnon; *Genesis B* 298b winnan ongyneð; *Meters of Boethius* 25.69b winnan onginnan

Most striking are the varied epithets for God in lines 5–6 and 8–9, most of which, as Roberta Frank pointed out,³⁹ were rejected by the author of the composite Napier Homily XXX (whose version of these passages further dilutes its metrical and alliterative form).⁴⁰ The epithet *heofona wealdend* in line 5b is quite common in poetry, while the emended reading *mihtig*

³⁹ Frank, "Poetic Words," 99. Hiroshi Ogawa, *Studies in the History of Old English Prose* (Tokyo, 2000), 268, citing Frank, refers briefly to these poetic formulas, and also notes the substitution in Napier XXX of *ecelice* for the "apparently archaic" *on worulda woruld*. E. G. Stanley, "Some Problematic Sense Divisions in Old English: 'Glory' and 'Victory', 'Noble', 'Glorious', and 'Learned'," in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, ed. Helen Damico and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo, 1993), 171–226, here 182, notes *sigora syllend* and characterizes the passage as "a rhythmical and alliterative part of Vercelli Homily XXI on the borderland of verse and prose."

⁴⁰ "Purh ða ofermodignesse mære englas / on heofonum wurdon geo forscæpene to atelicum deoflum 7 besceofene on helle grund, þær hi sceolon *ecelice* witu þolian, for ðam þe hi forhogedon þone ecan drihten 7 him sylfum þær rice mynton. Ac him se ræd ne geþeah, ac se stiðmoda cyning, drihten ælmihtig, awarep of ðam setle þone modigan feond 7 of ðam wuldre eac þæs heofonlican rices. 7 ealle þa ðe mid him æt ðam ræde wæron, hi wiston þe geornor, wutum besette on þære byrnendan helle, wið hwæne hi winnon ongunnon" (ed. Scragg, 397.54–398.62, corresponding to Napier, 145.22–32; italics indicate words not found in surviving copies of Vercelli XXI). Briefer parallels are found in several other homilies: Vercelli XIX, ed. Scragg, 316.19–23: "7 ealle þa ðe æt ðam ræde mid him wæron 7 him æfter besawon, ealle hie wurdon of englum to deoflum forscæpene 7 on helle bescofene, þær hie on ecnesse witu þoliað, for ðam þe hie forhogedon hira scyppend, ælmihtigne God" [CCCC 162 (hand b) adds: "him se ræd ne geðeag ac werð swyðe biterlice forgolden him sylfan"]; CCCC 303 adds: "him se ræd ne geþah ac wearð swiðe biterlice forgoldan him sylfan"]. "The Devil's Account of the Next World," ed. Scragg, 181.M53–59: "Ac hine awarep drihten of heofonum for his ofermetum, 7 þone modigan feond on helle wite, for þon he dede hine efenheahne Gode 7 get hegran wolde don. 7 he ða for þan gewearp to deofle awend 7 ealle his geferan 7 eac ealle þa þe æt his ræde wæron oþþe æfter besawan, ealle hi wurdan of þan englican hiwe to deoflum awende, 7 gefeollan þa heom an helle diopnesse, besuncon ealle togædere." Pseudo-Wulfstan XXIX, ed. Napier, 134.18–21: "And uton eallon mægne us scyldan wið ofermodignesse, forðam þe hy awurpon iu englas of heofonum, and hi wurdon þærrihtes to deoflum forscæpene."

dryhten in 9a is paralleled in both the *Paris Psalter* and *Instructions for Christians*; but neither of these is exclusively poetic. More distinctive is *sigora sylleud* in line 6a, an epithet which also occurs twice in *Juliana* and once in *The Panther*; the only prose occurrence is in this passage from Vercelli XXI. The epithet *se stiðmoda cyning* in line 8 contains a striking poetic compound from the word-hoard of heroic poetry. The word *stiðmod* occurs 6 times in the poetry, including in the identical epithet *stiðmod cyning* in *Genesis A* (l. 2425b); in prose, apart from this occurrence in Vercelli XXI and its variant in Napier Homily XXX, the word occurs only in Wulfstan's homily XIX and his *Institutes of Polity*.⁴¹ Of the remaining verbal parallels, some are more significant and precise than others, but it is striking that the formulaic patterns that are restricted either to the on-verse or off-verse in the poetry all occur in the appropriate half-lines in this fragment. The cumulative weight of these parallels, added to the passage's alliterative and metrical form and distinctively poetic epithets for God, is compelling evidence of poetic intention, even if the execution (and undoubtedly the transmission as well) is faulty at several points.

In addition to using poetic words, for example, the author describes the frustrated intentions and plans of the rebel angels in terms strikingly reminiscent of poetic expressions for defeated expectations in *Beowulf* and elsewhere. These ironic formulations have been discussed by Richard Ringer, who notes how the *Beowulf* poet, in describing Grendel's attack on Heorot, highlights the contrast between Grendel's prior intentions and subsequent realizations with the verbs *myntan* and *witan*.⁴² Thus as Grendel approached Heorot he *mynte*, "intended," to ensnare one of human-

⁴¹ Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), 254.74; Karl Jost, ed., *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 23 (Bern, 1950), 53. The occurrences of *stiðmod* (as a royal quality in *Polity*) in Wulfstan's genuine writings may explain why the compiler of Napier XXX accepted this epithet while rejecting *heofona wealdend* and *sigora sylleud*.

⁴² Richard Ringer, "Him seo wen geleaf: The Design for Irony in Grendel's Last Visit to Heorot," *Speculum* 41 (1966): 49-67; repr. in *Interpretations of Beowulf: A Critical Anthology*, ed. R. D. Fulk (Bloomington, 1991), 127-45. This pattern was first noted by R. E. Kaske, "Sapientia et Fortitudo as the Controlling Theme of *Beowulf*," *Studies in Philology* 55 (1958): 423-57, here 439; repr. in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson (Notre Dame, 1963), 269-310, here 289. See also Edward B. Irving, *A Reading of Beowulf* (New Haven, 1968), 22-31. Another example of poetic contrast between *wenan* and *witan* is discussed by Constance B. Hieatt, "Transition in the Exeter Book 'Descent into Hell,'" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 91 (1990): 431-38, here 434.

kind in the hall (l. 712), and upon his arrival there he again "intended" to separate the life from the body of each of the sleeping warriors (ll. 731-733). Subsequently, after Beowulf had seized him, he "intended" to flee into his fen-retreats (ll. 762-764). But at that moment he also *wiste* "knew," that the power of his fingers was in a hateful grip (ll. 764-765), and, ultimately, after being mortally wounded, he "knew the more surely" *wiste þe geornor*, that he had reached the end of his allotted life (ll. 821-823). Similarly, in the passage from Vercelli XXI we are told that the rebel angels "intended to make a kingdom for themselves in heaven," *him sylfum þær / rice mynton*; but after their defeat and expulsion by God, *Wiston hie þe geornor / wið hwæne hie winnan ongunnon*, "They knew the more surely, against whom they had set out to fight." The latter formulation is closely paralleled in a similar context in *Christ and Satan*, where Christ commands Satan to measure hell, saying that "You might therefore know the more surely that you fought against God": *Wast þu þonne þe geornor þæt þu wið god wunne* (l. 704).⁴³

A recurring formulaic expression of frustrated intentions in Old English poetry is *him seo wen ge Leah*, used in *Beowulf* to describe the dragon's vain trust in his barrow and warlike power (l. 2323b), and in *Andreas* to describe the cancellation of the Mermedonian cannibals' expected feast (l. 1074b). It is also used twice in *Genesis A*, once (perhaps somewhat incongruously) to describe Noah's frustrated expectation that the raven would return to the ark (l. 1446b), but also in a context closely similar to the Vercelli XXI passage, to describe how the rebel angels' expectation of possessing a kingdom in heaven was defeated when God raised his hand against them (l. 49a). So too in the homily we are told, in what appears to be a variant of this formula, that the angels intended to make for themselves a kingdom in heaven, "but that plan did not succeed for them," *ac him se ræd ne gēpah*. Although the wording is different, the syntactic and metrical form is quite similar to *him seo wen ge Leah*, and the verbal substitution would have been facilitated by the common use of forms of the word

⁴³ Compare also *Juliana*, ll. 556b-558, after the devil has been humiliated and released by the saint: "Wiste he þi gearwor, / manes melda, magum to secgan, / susles þegnum, hu him on side gelomp." As these parallels show, the formula may occur either in the on-verse or off-verse; but when it occurs in the on-verse it regularly alliterates on *g*, rather than on *w* as in the passage from Vercelli XXI.

ræd to describe the misguided counsels of the rebel angels in league with Satan.⁴⁴

The poetic vocabulary and diction of this passage are the most compelling reasons to regard it, not just as verse, but as poetry. As R. D. Fulk has noted, "the primary difference between Ælfric's most verselike prose . . . and classical verse is not so much the distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables as the absence of purely poetic vocabulary."⁴⁵ This is also the decisive criterion for E. G. Stanley, who believes that for an alliterative and rhythmical passage to be verse, "it must contain some items recognizable by us as from the language of Old English poetry; we may then go on if we wish, and allege that the author too recognized, and intentionally used, these items as a sign that his discourse . . . is poetical."⁴⁶

I would allege that the discourse of this passage on the fall of the rebel angels is indeed self-consciously "poetical." Its metrical and alliterative form bears closest resemblance not to what McIntosh called "debased verse," but to the style of "prosaic poetry" such as *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, from which the homilist drew in the immediately following passage.⁴⁷ There are defects which, if not due to faulty transmission, suggest an imperfect mastery of the compositional techniques of "classical" verse; but the diction and tone show evidence of an authentic contact with traditional poetic idiom. While it is possible that such a "poetical discourse" was within the compositional range of the homilist, the largely

⁴⁴ In *Genesis A*, for example, the angels are said to have followed the *unræd* (l. 30) of their leader Satan, thereby abandoning *heora selfra ræd* (l. 24) and finding themselves confined in a *rædleaze hof* (l. 44). The term *ræd* is also used for the self-delusory counsels of Satan and the rebel angels in both *Genesis B* and *Christ and Satan*. For another variation on the pattern, see *Juliana*, l. 605–6, in reference to the death-sentence pronounced by Elesius upon Juliana: "Hine se cwealm ne þeah, / siþþan he þone fintan furþor cuþe."

⁴⁵ Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter*, 267.

⁴⁶ Stanley, "The Judgment of the Damned," 368. See also Stanley's comments in "Alliterative Ornament," 210.

⁴⁷ An element of prosaic or "homiletic" syntax that is probably not the result of defective transmission is the use of the participial construction "wurdon . . . bescofene" (rather than a finite form of *bescufan* with an active predicate). For a discussion of the divergent uses of prose and poetry in this regard, see Catherine Brown Tkacz, "Heaven and Fallen Angels in Old English," in *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden, 1998), 327–44, here 328–32; Tkacz also notes, however, that the "homiletic" syntax also occurs in *Guthlac A*, ll. 633b–34: "scofene wurdon / fore oferhygdum in ece fyr" which is similar to the first two lines of the Vercelli passage.

composite nature of the homily, and in particular the distorted quotation from *Exhortation* immediately following this passage, makes it more likely that the homilist was borrowing from an Old English poem, of which this is now our only surviving witness.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The fragments of lost verse "recovered" from prose from the publication of ASPR University Press to 1982 are conveniently included in Bergman's "Supplement", to which should be added Stanley's "Judgment of the Damned" and the charter passage noted by Peter Kitson, "Some Unrecognized Old English and Anglo-Latin Verse," *Notes and Queries* 232 (1987): 147-51. I would like to thank Mary Blockley, Geoffrey Russom, Yasuko Suzuki, and Seiichi Suzuki for their generous help with metrical problems; I remain solely responsible, of course, for any errors.

MARY CLAYTON

An Edition of Ælfric's *Letter to Brother Edward*

THE LETTER TO BROTHER EDWARD is a short text that falls naturally into three sections: the first deals with prohibitions on the eating of blood; the second is an exhortation to "Brother Edward" and others not to abandon English ways for Danish; and the third consists of a request to Brother Edward that he try to put a stop to the habit of certain countrywomen of eating and drinking at their beer parties while sitting on the privy.¹ The text was printed by Kluge as an anonymous piece from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, in 1885;² Pope has since quoted the middle section, which is also translated by Dorothy Whitelock in *English Historical Documents*³ and Michael Swanton translates the second and third parts of the text in his *Anglo-Saxon Prose*.⁴ The text as a whole deserves to be better known, however, as it offers a fascinating insight into the views of an English person around the last millennium, reacting to the spread of Danish

¹ The letter is referred to in a very lively discussion on Ansaxnet in 1991 as the "toilet letter."

² F. Kluge, "Fragment eines angelsächsischen Briefes," *Englische Studien* 8 (1885): 62–63. Kluge printed the first section in his footnotes only, as he considered it unconnected with the second and third sections.

³ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies* 1: 56; *English Historical Documents*, Vol. 1, c. 550–1042, ed. and trans. D. Whitelock, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), 896.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, trans. and ed. Michael Swanton (London, 1975), 29.

ways in England and commenting on the parties held by countrywomen. It is, therefore, reedited here.

Kluge saw the author as having a delicate nature, with a developed patriotic and aesthetic sense and a "ruhigere, sinnigere Natur" than Wulfstan, a nature aware of all those things which "einem feinfühlenden und innerlich gebildeten Angelsachsen in der Dänenzeit ein Ärgerniss sein konnten,"⁵ and he regretted that we had no other works by the same hand. Dorothy Whitelock, in a similar vein, says that "nothing is known of the recipient, and the writer is anonymous."⁶ In 1967 John Pope ascribed the letter to Ælfric, with very persuasive arguments, and Malcolm Godden accepts this attribution.⁷ Kluge's wish for other works by the same hand would seem to have come true beyond all expectation. Peter Clemoes, however, rejects the attribution to Ælfric, though without giving reasons⁸ while Patrick Wormald, seemingly unaware of Pope's attribution, considers it the work of an anonymous author commenting on the court of Cnut.⁹

Pope's reasons for attributing this text to Ælfric are partly stylistic (he points out that the second and third sections are in Ælfric's characteristic rhythmical prose and that "the plain prose of the first section seems well within his range of syntax and expression"),¹⁰ and partly based on the close correspondence between the first section and a passage in Ælfric's *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*.¹¹ He thinks that

there is no doubt that all three sections are Ælfric's, and it is conceivable that they are derived from a single pastoral letter in which

⁵ Kluge, "Fragment eines angelsächsischen Briefes," 63.

⁶ *English Historical Documents*, 1: 895.

⁷ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies* 1: 56-57; Godden, *CH* 2, lxxvii and note 1.

⁸ Clemoes, *CH* 1, 34, 39, 41.

⁹ P. Wormald, "Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994): 1-24, here 18: "a fragment of what may be the sole surviving private letter from one relatively ordinary Anglo-Saxon to another."

¹⁰ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 57; Pope sets out the second section metrically on 56.

¹¹ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies* 1: 57. For the *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. B. Fehr, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* 9 (Hamburg, 1914, repr. with a supplementary introduction by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1966), 222-27, here 223. See below, 266.

Ælfric shifted from plain prose to his rhythmical style as he turned to matters that strongly affected his feelings. The introductory sentence, however, is surely that of an excerptor, who thus acknowledges that he is selecting from, and perhaps at first abridging, a longer composition.¹²

While Pope suggests here that the sections may have been derived from a pastoral letter, he also suggests that the excerpts may have been from a more or less private letter.¹³ Pope's arguments for Ælfric's authorship of the piece, convincing in themselves, can be added to, especially for the first section: the rhythmical prose, though perhaps a little shaky, vouches for the second and third parts, given that we do not know of any other author who wrote the rhythmical prose that we associate with Ælfric; and is supported by, for example, the characteristic Ælfrician word play on *fullice* / *fullic* and by the equally characteristic pattern of repetition in "þæt þu him an þing secge, gif ðu for sceame swaþeah hit him secgan mæge; me sceamað þearle þæt ic hit secge ðe."¹⁴

The text is found in three manuscripts: R, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, fols. 137–138, from the first half of the eleventh century;¹⁵ P, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols. 60r–61r, from the second half of the eleventh century;¹⁶ and S, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116, fols. 377–379, from the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁷ Of these, only Hatton 115 has all

¹² Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 57.

¹³ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 57. The latter seems to me more plausible, as a pastoral letter would not be addressed to an individual.

¹⁴ See also below, 275–77.

¹⁵ Described by Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 41a (the letter is item 13), and by Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 62–67. The sigla are those devised for Ælfric manuscripts by Peter Clemoes for his edition of CH 1 and adopted by Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, and by Godden for his edition of CH 2. This manuscript consists of two books of twelve homilies each, with, in addition, six shorter pieces, including this letter, in the first book.

¹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 332 (item 15); Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 53–59, describes it as a "miscellany of sermons and shorter bits of instruction and admonition" (53).

¹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 333 (item 23); Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 67–70; see also E. M. Trehearne, "The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century," in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. M. Swan and eadem, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000), 11–40, here 26, who dates it to the second quarter of the twelfth century.

three sections; CCCC 178 has the first two sections, followed by an erasure which shows that the scribe began to write the third section but changed his mind (out of squeamishness?); and Hatton 116 has only the first. The manuscript contexts of the piece support the attribution to Ælfric, as all of the items in Hatton 115 are by him (if one counts this piece and a short piece on baptism which Pope also attributes to Ælfric),¹⁸ as are all in CCCC 178 (which also contains these two short pieces), apart probably from a few sentences, and twenty-four out of twenty-six original items in Hatton 116. All three manuscripts contain a group of short pieces, of which this letter is one, which, while not identical, is very similar in all three. Pope suggests that "it looks as if someone had made a miscellany of Ælfric's pronouncements on a variety of themes," perhaps quarrying Ælfric's own literary remains, on which all three manuscripts drew.¹⁹

The three manuscripts have been glossed by the "tremulous hand" of Worcester, and were therefore all at Worcester in the thirteenth century. CCCC 178 may have been written in Worcester or its vicinity or may have come to Worcester from elsewhere, but seems to have been there in the eleventh century.²⁰ Hatton 115 has links with manuscripts from the southeast and is in a hand not like the hands of contemporary Worcester manuscripts,²¹ while Hatton 116 seems to have been written in a hand typical of "twelfth-century manuscripts from West of England monastic houses."²²

The first section consists of three injunctions against eating blood: a quotation from Genesis 9:2-6, one from Leviticus 17:10-14, and one attributed to church canons. Because of these Old Testament prohibitions and of similar commands in Acts 15:20 and 15:29, the practice of consuming blood was regarded as sinful and forbidden to Christians. As Pope has pointed out,²³ Ælfric also treats the question of eating blood in his *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, in terms very similar to the letter:

¹⁸ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies* 1: 56.

¹⁹ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies* 1: 57.

²⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, 64; Godden, CH 2, lxx.

²¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, 403; Godden, CH 2, lxxviii.

²² Clemons, CH 1, 40; see Ker, *Catalogue*, 406.

²³ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies* 1: 56.

Sanguinem cum terribili comminatione prohibuit deus in cibos sumere Noe et filiis eius et similiter in lege Moysi, quia sanguis uita pecorum est, et omnis qui sanguinem commederit, delebitur de populo suo ...²⁴

This, however, is only one of several texts in which he addresses this question, one which was, as Robinson has shown, an "almost obsessive concern" in Old English prose.²⁵ Ælfric's translation of the first part of the book of Genesis again includes the same passage, Genesis 9:2-6, as the first quotation in his *Letter to Brother Edward* and the allusion in his *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*:

Ealle sæfixas syndon eowrum handum betæhte. 7 eal ðæt ðe styrað 7 leofað beo eow to mete, swa swa growende wyrta ic hi betæce ealle eow, butan ðam anum ðæt ge flæsc mid blode ne eton. Eower blod ic ofgange æt eallum wildeorum 7 eac æt ðam men; of ðæs weres handa 7 his broðor handa ic ofgange ðæs mannes lif. Swa hwa swa agyt ðæs mannes blod, his blod byð agoten. ...²⁶

The verbal similarity between the last part of this quotation and the *Letter to Brother Edward* ("Swa hwa swa mennisc blod agyt, his blod byð agoten") supports Pope's view of the authorship of the *Letter*. In the *Letter to Sigeward on the Old and New Testaments*, Ælfric makes the same point, drawing again on the Genesis passage:

7 se ælmihtiga God æfter Noes flode eallum mancinne forgeaf him gemænlice fiscinn 7 fugolcinn 7 ða fiðerfetan deor 7 þa clænan

²⁴ *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr, 223. The allusions in this passage are to Genesis 9:4, Deuteronomy 12:23, and Leviticus 17:10. The letter is dated between 1002 and 1005 by Clemoes in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr, cxlv.

²⁵ F. C. Robinson, "Lexicography and Literary Criticism: A Caveat," in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. J. L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970), 99-110, here 102. See also A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge, 1995), 63-65.

²⁶ *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 (London, 1922), 106.

nytena for his micclan ciste; ac he forbead swa þeah blod to þicgenne.²⁷

Ælfric's second biblical quotation in the *Letter to Brother Edward*, Leviticus 17:10–14, is a passage also alluded to in his *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*.²⁸

Ælfric's third quotation is attributed by him to canons and, like the two previous quotations, it echoes the *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, drawing on that part of the Latin letter which immediately precedes the allusion to Genesis 9:

Nam et canones docent quod si quis abscidat aurem animalis mori-turi aut aliquod membrum, tamen morticinium erit, nisi uitalis sanguis ex intimis currat foras.²⁹

This passage, and, therefore, that in the *Letter to Brother Edward*, is paralleled in two Irish collections of canons, the *Hibernensis* and the *Canones Adomnani*, and is part of the extensive legislation growing out of the Old Testament passages quoted above and other similar commands, as well as the injunctions in Acts 15:20 and 15:29, governing what could and could not be eaten.³⁰ Only animals that had been properly slaughtered were thought fit for human consumption, and proper slaughter involved killing the animal in such a way that the innermost blood was allowed to run out. Animals that had been killed by other animals or in accidents or that had died from sickness were deemed carrion, unfit for eating, as the innermost blood, thought to be the seat of life, had not run out.³¹ Chapter 5 of the *Canones Adomnani* says: "Animal semivivum subita morte praeraptum

²⁷ *Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, 27.

²⁸ See above, n. 20.

²⁹ *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr, 223, lines 12–15.

³⁰ See K. Böckenhoff, *Speisesatzungen mosaischer Art in mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechtsquellen des Morgen- und Abendlandes* (Münster, 1907). Both canons are cited as sources for the *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan* by Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, 223.

³¹ Ælfric equates the blood of an animal with its life in both this letter and in Clemoes, CH 1, 182, line 109: "heora blod is heora lif". See the discussion in M. Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 271–98, here 282.

abscissa aure vel alia parte, morticinium est";³² and Chapter 20 discusses cases where the blood cannot be said to have run out but has instead lodged in the flesh. Similarly, the *Hibernensis*, Book 54, chapter 6, is headed: "De eo, quod omne animal mortuum sine effusione sanguinis morticinium est."³³ It was presumably upon these Irish canons that Ælfric drew. His clear interest in the topic certainly confirms Pope's views on the authorship of the *Letter*.

The second part of the text objects to the English abandoning their ancestral ways for Danish ways and, in particular, to those who "tysliað eow on Denisc, ableredum hneccan and ablendum eagum." "Tyslian," a rare word, means "to dress", and this passage must refer to some fashion in clothing or hairstyle; the latter seems more likely in view of the description. "Ablered," otherwise unattested, is connected to "blere, bald" by Bosworth and Toller, and the bared necks and blinded eyes suggest a long fringe and possibly very short hair exposing the neck. Ælfric's comment recalls Canon 20 of the so-called *Canons of Edgar*, a text by Wulfstan for his parish clergy, which links dress and hair: "riht is þæt man geswice hig-leasra wæda 7 dyslicra geræda 7 bysmorlicra efesunge."³⁴ This censuring of hairstyle is in turn related to a passage in the erroneously named *Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberti*, now renamed Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection. This canon decrees:

Catholicus si capillos more totonderit barbarorum, ab ecclesia Dei alienus habetur et ab omni Christianorum mensa donec delictum emendet.³⁵

³² *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, ed. F. W. H. Wasserschleben (Halle, 1851), 120. On this see Böckenhoff, *Speisesatzungen*, 62. Ælfric's Latin is even more similar to this than his Old English letter is, as it retains the mention of the ear.

³³ *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, ed. H. Wasserschleben, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1885), 216: the chapter reads: "Hieronymus ait: Suffocatum aut per manus hominum gentili more, aut per se ipsum lege mortis aut per bestias aut per ignem aut per aquam aut per aliquam quamcumque mortis causam efficitur, illicitum est, morticinium est enim, quia absque effusione sanguinis emittit vitam et in quo moriatur anima." The last part is a quotation from Jerome, *In Ezechielem* 1.13, PL 25: 49C-D.

³⁴ *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), 1: 321.

³⁵ *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. J. E. Cross and A. Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts 1 (Woodbridge, 1999), 97 (cf. Recension B, 156).

Given the close connections between Ælfric and Wulfstan, it is very probable that the former was also familiar with this canon. The source of the canon is, according to Cross and Hamer, the *Canones Wallici*, edited by Bieler as part of the Irish penitentials, but considered by him to be an early Welsh text (c. 550–650), which had perhaps been brought to Britain and reshaped there.³⁶ Ælfric's point here is a wider one than the question of hair, and in this is similar to another text that he probably knew, Alcuin's Letter to Ethelred, king of Northumbria (written in 793), where Alcuin says:

Considerate habitum; tonsuram, et mores principum et populi luxuriosos. Ecce tonsura quam in barbis et in capillis paganis adsimilari uoluistis. Nonne illorum terror inminet quorum tonsuram habere uoluistis? Quid quoque inmoderatus uestimentorum usus ultra humane necessitatem nature, ultra antecessorum nostrorum consuetudinem?³⁷

The context here is very like that of Ælfric's letter, in that the adoption of a pagan hairstyle is rendered worse by its link with an oppressor and the departure from old customs is lamented. Wulfstan was very familiar with Alcuin's letters and corrected a collection of them in his own hand; they were also used as "an aid to training students in the proper way to compose a Latin letter."³⁸ Ælfric must have known them too, and the similarities between the times of the two king Ethelreds would not have been lost on him.³⁹ Another possible influence is the report of the papal legates to Pope Hadrian after the English synod of 786, another document known to Wulfstan. This report complains:

³⁶ *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 5 (Dublin, 1963), 7.

³⁷ *Two Alcuin Letter Books*, ed. C. Chase, *Toronto Medieval Latin Texts* 5 (Toronto, 1975), 55; D. Whitelock points to the connection in her brief introduction to a translation of the middle section of the *Letter to Brother Edward* in her *English Historical Documents* 1: 895.

³⁸ *Two Alcuin Letter Books*, ed. Chase, 3.

³⁹ See, *Two Alcuin Letter Books*, ed. Chase, 7–8, on how Wulfstan or an associate underlined and drew hands pointing to passages in Alcuin which had a particular aptness for his own time. On Ælfric's attitude to his own king, see M. Clayton, "Ælfric and Æthelred," in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Dr Lynne Grundy*, ed. J. Nelson and J. Roberts, *King's College London Medieval Studies* (London, 2000).

Vestimenta etiam vestra, more gentilium, quos, Deo opitulante, patres vestri de orbe armis expulerunt, induitis: miranda res, et nimis stupenda; ut quorum vitam semper odistis exempla imitemini.⁴⁰

The *Canons of Edgar* or of Wulfstan do not specify what particular hairstyle is indicated, nor does Alcuin, but Ælfric's "ableredum hneccan and ablendum eagum" seems much more specific. According to Gale Owen-Crocker's authoritative survey of Anglo-Saxon dress, Anglo-Saxon men of the tenth and eleventh centuries would usually have worn their hair short and were commonly clean-shaven or had closely cropped beards, though kings are generally shown with moustaches and full beards.⁴¹ Manuscript depictions of men do not show anything resembling Ælfric's description. One source which does show something very like what is described in the *Letter* is, however, the Bayeux Tapestry, in which many of the Normans wear their hair shaved at the neck and up the back of their heads and protruding out over their foreheads: "with bare necks and blinded eyes" describes very well the hairstyle depicted on the tapestry.⁴² The Normans, of course, are not Danes and the Bayeux tapestry is considerably later than Ælfric, but some Normans may well have assumed Danish styles because of their ancestry and the fashion could have lasted for decades.⁴³ Ælfric's description seems too specific to be unrelated to contemporary conditions; although he was probably following centuries-old prohibitions about hair-

⁴⁰ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–1878), 3: 458.

⁴¹ G. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1986), 168–69.

⁴² See the comment by D. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1985), 208: "There appears to be some attempt to differentiate English and Norman by providing the former with long thin moustaches and giving the latter a strange haircut which leaves them clean-shaven over the whole of the back of their heads, but neither treatment is universal. (It is not without interest that there is a remarkable consonance between the bare-necked Normans of the Tapestry and a condemnatory description of Danish shaven necks in a late Old English letter.)" For examples of the hairstyle, see plates 9 and following in Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry*. I am grateful to Gale Owen-Crocker for pointing me in the direction of the Bayeux Tapestry.

⁴³ See N. Brooks, "History and Myth, Forgery and Truth," in *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066* (London and Rio Grande, 2000), 1–19, here 2, who says that: "By adopting this grotesque style . . . the Normans were in fact proclaiming their Scandinavian 'roots'."

styles, therefore, the particular fashion must have been a current one.⁴⁴ Memory of Danish hairstyles as in some way distinctive lingered long; Jonathan Wilcox, writing of Wulfstan's response to the St. Brice's Day massacre of Danes in 1002, quotes a thirteenth-century chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford which gives as reason for the slaughter: "The Danes made themselves too acceptable to the English women by their elegant manners and their care of their person. They combed their hair daily and took a bath every Saturday."⁴⁵

In its passionate denunciation of those who imitate the Danes, the *Letter to Brother Edward* can be linked to Pope, *Supplementary Homily* 14, a homily dated c. 1009, which attacks those English who go over to the Danes:

Swa fela manna gebugað mid ðam gecorenum
to Cristes geleafan on his Gelaðunge,
þæt hy sume yfele eft ut abrecað,
and hy on gedwyldum adreogað heora lif,
swa swa þa Engiscan men doð þe to ðam Deniscan gebugað,
and mearciað hy deofle to his mannrædene,
and his weorc wyrcað, hym sylfum to forwyrd,
and heora agene leode belæwað to deade.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Hairstyles were regarded as a mark of ethnicity in the Middle Ages: see R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (Harmondsworth, 1993), 197–98, who quotes, among other instances, English legislation against the adoption of Irish hairstyles by English settlers in Ireland ("the degenerate English of modern times who wear Irish clothes, have their heads half shaved and grow their hair long at the back"). See also idem, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 4 (1994): 43–60. In sixth-century Byzantium the hairstyle of violent youths was also long in back and shaved in front, derided as the "Hunnish" style: A. Karpozilos and A. Kazhdan, "Hair," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York, 1891), 2: 899.

⁴⁵ J. Wilcox, "The St. Brice's Day Massacre and Archbishop Wulfstan," in *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 4, ed. D. Wolfthal (Tempe, 2000), 79–91, here 83.

⁴⁶ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 521, lines 128–135. On Ælfric's attitude towards the Danes, see M. Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English. Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. Godden, D. Gray, and T. Hoad (Oxford, 1994), 130–62.

It may be fanciful to connect the phrase "mearciað hy deofle" with the kind of hairstyle attacked in the *Letter to Brother Edward*, but Pope suggests in his glossary that "gemearcod Gode," "marked for God," in Pope, *Supplementary Homily* 19.209, may mean "tonsured", and, if this is the case, then "to mark for the devil" could mean something similar, a hairstyle identified with the heathen. Pope glosses "mearcian" in the passage quoted above "with reference to signs (lit. or fig.) of a man's allegiance or servitude, to mark (almost brand)," and the text certainly suggests something visible on the bodies of those who go over to the Danes. Perhaps it was their hair.⁴⁷

The remarks on Englishness in this passage of the letter were relevant in another context at the end of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth when the monk of Worcester known as the Tremulous Hand was working. Opposite the second section of the letter, he put the comment "De anglicis moribus relictis."⁴⁸

I have not been able to find any parallels or sources for the third section of the *Letter*, with its outrage at countrywomen and their parties; and indeed this section, unlike the other two, which cite the Bible, canons, and "bec," does not appeal to any authority other than the oral. Ælfric here depends on what he "gehyrde oft secgan" and he makes an uncharacteristic leap to its truth: "and hit is yfel so." It is far more usual for Ælfric to question what is said and to cite written authorities.⁴⁹ He is reacting here to a contemporary practice that alarms and disgusts him, and this passage bears some resemblance to one in the CH 2 homily for Rogation Monday, where Ælfric turns to the subject of intercourse with a pregnant wife and says:

⁴⁷ In signalling a change of political allegiance by a change of hairstyle, the English of Ælfric's time were not alone in the Middle Ages. When the leaders of the Duchy of Spoleto surrendered to Pope Hadrian I (pope from 772 to 795), they had their hair cut in the Roman fashion (see E. James, "Bede and the Tonsure Question," *Peritia* 3 [1984]: 85–98, here 93); and when in 1333 the Irishman Dermot O'Dwyer was allowed "to enjoy all the liberties that the English have in Ireland," he had his hair cut in the English fashion (Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages," 46).

⁴⁸ See W. Collier, "Englishness and the Worcester Tremulous Hand," *Leeds Studies in English* 26 (1995): 35–47, here 40.

⁴⁹ See the discussion by W. Busse, "Sua gað ða lareowas beforan ðæm folce, 7 ðæt folc æfter: The Self-Understanding of the Reformers as Teachers in Late Tenth-Century England," in *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. U. Schaefer (Tübingen, 1993), 58–106.

“Ne sæwð nan yrðling. ænne æcer tuwa; Ne nan wer ne sceal. his wife genealæcan. siððan heo mid bearne. swærlice gebunden gæð. ðe læs ðe hi amyrron. heora gemæne cild; Ðis is swiðe hefigtyme. eow to gehyrenne. gif we hit forsuwian dorston. ne sæde we hit eow.”⁵⁰

Here there is the same reluctance to turn to a distasteful practice and an insistence on the necessity of addressing it, while acknowledging that the listener/reader will not want to dwell on it.

This section begins by talking about women, but continues by saying that it is shameful that “ænig man æfre swa unþeawfæst beon sceole þæt he þone muð ufan mid mettum afylle and on oðerne ende him gange þæt meox ut fram and drince þonne ægðer ge þæt ealu ge þone stencg, þæt he huru swa afylle his fracodan gyfernysse.” “Man” of course means “person” in Old English, and the masculine pronouns are in agreement with it, but it is hard to read this passage without thinking that it refers also to men. It is possible that the practice was both a male and a female one, but that Ælfric connects it particularly with women and focuses his disgust on women.

The second and third parts of the *Letter* are of a very different nature, and both seem to be addressed to the same person, who is called “broðor Eadweard” first and then just “broðor.” The second part begins “Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu me þyses bæde,” suggesting that this may well be Ælfric’s own continuation from the passage on eating blood; the “eac” certainly indicates that this was not originally the beginning of an independent text. While Kluge assumed that the section on blood originally had nothing to do with the other two sections, which clearly belong to the same text, Pope is, I believe, right in suggesting that all three parts come from a single text. The only complete copy, in Hatton 115, presents the text very much as a unit: both the second and third sections begin in the middle of a line, marked only by the kind of coloured initials which are numerous throughout the text. Similarly, in CCCC.178, which has the first two sections, the second section is marked only with a capital letter, similar to others in the text, and begins towards the end of a line,

⁵⁰ Godden, CH 2, 185, lines 181–185. Clare Lees discusses this passage in *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Medieval Cultures 19 (Minneapolis, 1999), 135–36.

not at the beginning of one. If it is the case that we are dealing with a single text, then, as Pope suggests, the first sentence, which does not read as if it were part of a letter, could have been the work of whoever adapted the beginning and cut off at least the initial greeting with which a letter would have begun. The titles in S and R (and in a more modern hand in P) would also have to be editorial, as they cover only the first section and a letter would not have had a title.⁵¹ The piece edited by Pope as "Wyrdwriteras" (Pope, *Supplementary Homily* 22), also found in Hatton 115 and part of the same group of short pieces alluded to above,⁵² similarly seems to be an extract from a letter, but now also begins without any greeting.⁵³ All three sections probably, then, came from a private letter written in response to questions about the eating of blood and the adoption of Danish practices, a letter that Ælfric seems to have felt impelled to continue under the influence of the strong emotion aroused by a third practice which he also regarded as disgusting. We know that Ælfric kept copies of such letters, as the *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, also a private letter responding to a series of questions, is preserved in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 63, a "copy of a collection which Ælfric himself assembled."⁵⁴ While these texts are private in the sense that they are addressed to individuals, the fact that Ælfric evidently kept copies suggests that he thought that they could have wider application; the second section of the *Letter to Edward* begins "Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu me þyses bæde," but immediately continues "þæt ge doð unrihtlice" and goes on in the second person plural.

Nigel Barley points out, too, that the first part is linked to the other two sections "in its desire to categorise and assign boundaries" and that the first and third parts are further linked in their "concern for the symbolic load of bodily secretions and processes."⁵⁵ The practice of eating

⁵¹ P (in a later hand) and S have *De sanguine*; R has *De sanguine prohibito*. As R has other minor differences in its text, the original editorial title was probably that in P and S.

⁵² See above, 266.

⁵³ See Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 55 and 2: 725–26; the text is in Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 728–33.

⁵⁴ See Clemoes, "Supplement to the Introduction," cxxvii, in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr.

⁵⁵ N. Barley, "The Letter to Brother Edward," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 79 (1978): 23–24.

blood would lead to the mixing of two life-bloods, human and animal, and, as the seat of life was considered to be the innermost blood, ingesting this blood (which, if the animal were killed in the correct fashion, would be allowed to run out) would mix life-forces; it offends therefore in its mixing of distinct categories, as well as going against the biblical injunctions. The adoption of Danish ways by Englishmen is a similar confusion of categories and equally offensive: just as the person who eats blood must be considered cut off from his people, as Leviticus 17:10 says, so the Englishman who confuses the cultural categories "Christian English" and "heathen Danish" abandons his own people by this transgression. As Barley points out, in the third section "dissolving the barrier between ingestion and excretion blends oppositions such as inside/outside, top/bottom, before/after, form/formlessness, positive/negative."⁵⁶ All parts of the text, therefore, can be seen to be linked in their concerns and by the strong feeling of disgust which they evoke, and the probability seems strong that they belonged together from the beginning.

Against this argument is the mixture of ordinary and rhythmical prose, which suggests composition at different times, though Pope points out that "at no time after the invention of the rhythmical form does Ælfric seem to have hesitated to insert a freshly composed rhythmical passage into an early homily written in ordinary prose [...], to attach a rhythmical exemplum to an ordinary prose admonition [...], or to include an early piece, partly ordinary, partly rhythmical, in an otherwise consistently rhythmical homily."⁵⁷ All of these cases seem rather different from composing a letter in a mixture of styles, but Ælfric's Old English *Letter for Wulfsgie*, presumably composed as a single piece, is also partly rhythmical and partly in ordinary prose and so provides a parallel to the *Letter to Brother Edward*. Some of the texts in CH 2 are similarly mixed in style, as are some of the non-hagiographical pieces in Skeat's edition of the *Lives of Saints*.⁵⁸ Clemoes dates the *Letter for Wulfsgie* on the basis of this mixture of styles: "The fact that the letter is written partly in a rhythmical style and partly not places it among the works which Ælfric wrote soon after he finished

⁵⁶ Barley, "The Letter to Brother Edward," 23–24.

⁵⁷ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 117.

⁵⁸ Pope, *Supplementary Homilies*, 2: 113; Clemoes, "Chronology," 222.

the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* in 992."⁵⁹ Godden dates the Second Series to 995,⁶⁰ however, and Wulfsgie was bishop of Sherborne until 1002, so the text may well be later than 992. If the mixture of styles within a text can be used as a means of dating, then it would suggest that the *Letter to Edward* was written around the second half of the 990s.

The questions of who Brother Edward was, and of what kind his relationship to Ælfric was, are, as we might expect, difficult to answer. According to the *Dictionary of Old English*, the term "brother" can be used of a blood relationship, as a term to designate a fellow-being,⁶¹ or of a spiritual relationship, either as brothers within the church or as monastic brothers. Where it is used elsewhere in Ælfric as a form of address coupled with a proper name, as here in Ælfric's first address, it seems to be confined to monastic brothers or fellow-priests, such as "broðor maure" in CH 2.11⁶² or "broðor ðeodole" in CH 2.18 (Pope Alexander addressing the priest Theodolus).⁶³ However, it does not seem from the *Letter* itself that Edward was a monk: the adoption of Danish hairstyles is seen as a betrayal of ancestral English customs, not ecclesiastical ones; one would not expect a monk to have been in a position to adopt Danish fashions; and Ælfric is unlikely to have condoned any monk's being "uppan lande mid wimmannum" (though, depending on how one interprets "oftor," Ælfric may be saying that he himself occasionally was "uppan lande mid wimmannum"). Yet Ælfric's other work does not support the notion that Edward was simply a layman with whom he was in correspondence: elsewhere he never addresses his lay patrons, or those other laymen to whom he wrote, as "brother," so it does not seem likely that he was on a similar footing with Edward as he was with, say, Æthelweard, Wulfgeat (the addressee of Assmann, *Homilien und Heiligenleben*, 1), Sigefyrð (the addressee of Assmann, *Homilien und Heiligenleben*, 2) or Sigeweard (the addressee of the *Letter on the Old and New Testaments*). In these letters or prefaces he uses

⁵⁹ Clemoes in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. Fehr, cxliv. See also P. Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons, Studies in Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. idem (London, 1959), 212-47, here 222-23.

⁶⁰ Godden, CH 2, xciii.

⁶¹ In Ælfric's *Life of Swithun*, for example, Swithun addresses "sum eald þegn" as "broðor": Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, 4 vols., EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (Oxford, 1881-1900; repr. as 2 vols., 1966), 1: 462.

⁶² Godden, CH 2, 95, ll. 97-98.

⁶³ Godden, CH 2, 178, l. 128.

“leof” (to Æthelweard in the Preface to Genesis and to the *Lives of Saints* and to Sigefyrð in Assmann 2) or “leof man” (*Letter to Sigeweard*) as a form of address.⁶⁴ If Edward was neither a monk nor one of Ælfric’s usual lay correspondents, that leaves the possibility of Edward’s being either a secular priest or Ælfric’s own sibling: if Edward were a priest, one might expect this to be mentioned, especially in connection with the Danish fashions. Ælfric’s pastoral letters address the topic of the dress appropriate to priests,⁶⁵ so it was evidently something that concerned him. That Edward was a lay person is suggested by the strictures on dress and customs, and he was evidently someone whom Ælfric knew well: despite the protestations about being ashamed, the *Letter* is very frank and addresses a topic cruder than anything else by him, and this suggests a familiarity with the recipient. Although Ælfric seems to dissociate himself from a common ancestry with Edward by saying that “ge doð unrihtlice þæt ge ða Engliscan þeawas forlætað þe eowre fæderas heoldon,” nevertheless this does not seem to me to be compelling evidence against their having had the same parents. In becoming a monk, Ælfric has distanced himself from those ancestral English customs and ways, so it is understandable that he should use the second person plural, “eowre fæderas,” rather than the first person. This letter may well, then, be the only remaining evidence of Ælfric’s communications with members of his own family.

In conclusion, it seems to me that all sections of this text are by Ælfric, possibly all parts of a single text addressed to an Edward who may well have been his brother. We have no external evidence for the date of this text, but presumably it belongs to the period when the Danish attacks had been going on for a period of time, probably then from the second half of the 990s or a little later.

⁶⁴ *Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, 76; *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, 1: 4; *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Assmann, 13; *Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, 74.

⁶⁵ Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, Brief 2, 175 (54), and Brief 11, 206 (142).

TEXT

The text is based on the only full manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (P), fols. 60r-61r, with variants from the other two manuscripts. Spelling and inflectional variants have generally been excluded. Abbreviations have been expanded silently, and punctuation and capitalization have been modernized. Accent marks have not been reproduced. Glosses by the scribe with the tremulous hand, who worked on all three copies of the text, have not been included here. Page breaks are marked by /. In the translation of the third section the plural form of the noun and the third person plural pronoun have been used where the Old English has singulars: the Old English has the masculine noun "mann", "person", followed by masculine singular pronouns, but the plural allows an avoidance of the masculine pronoun in a text explicitly (or, at least, ostensibly) about women.

We have three manuscripts of the first section only, and a comparison of the texts shows that P and S share readings, where R has some minor differences: it has "gesette and alyfede" in the Leviticus quotation, where they have simply "alyfede" (the Vulgate reading, "quibus vesci licitum est", Leviticus 17:13, lends support to the PS reading) and R also reads "deð" where they read "macað." Such minor differences appear between R and S in two other texts contained in both, *De Octo Vitiis* and *De Auguriis*, and were presumably introduced by the scribe of R; Pope says that in these two texts R "introduces little deviations" (see *Supplementary Homilies*, 1: 68).

*DE SANGUINE*⁶⁶

Her geswutelað on ðysum⁶⁷ gewrite hu God ælmihtig forbead mancynne ælces cynnes blod to etenne. God cwæþ to Noe æfter þam mycclum flode: "Pære sæ fixas / and pære eorðan nytenu ic sylle eow to bigleofan, buton þæt ge heora blod ne þicgon. Witodlice þæra⁶⁸ nytena blod ic ofgange æt eowrum handum, and þæs mannes lif þe ofslagen byð ic ofgange æt his slagan. Swa hwa swa mennisc blod agyt, his blod byð agoten." Eft cwæð God to Moysen: "Ic eom eower God ðe eow lædde of Egypta lande. Ne þicge ge nanes nytenes blod on eowrum mettum ne fugela ne oðra nytena.⁶⁹ Ælc ðæra manna ðe blod ytt sceal losian of his folce, beo he inlenda,⁷⁰ beo he ælðeodig, forþan ðe on þam blode is þæs nytenes lif. Swa hwa swa fehð fugel oððe deor, þæra þe mannum to metum synd alyfede,⁷¹ ageote heora blod on ða⁷² eorðan and swa hwa swa þæs blodes hent and him to mete macað⁷³ he losað of his folce." Eft we rædað on canonibus þæt nan nyten þe to mete sceal ne byð clænlice acweald, buton þæt incunde blod ðe anbutan⁷⁴ þære heortan is ut yrne. Þeah hit⁷⁵ beo geblodegod on sumum lime and þæt liflice blod ut ne yrne, hit byð swaðeah to astorfenum geteald.⁷⁶

Ic secge eac ðe, broðor Eadweard, nu ðu me þyses bæde, þæt ge doð unrihtlice þæt ge ða Engliscan þeawas forlætað þe eowre⁷⁷ fæderas heoldon and hæðenra⁷⁸ manna þeawas lufiað, þe eow ðæs lifes ne unnon, and mid ðam geswuteliað þæt ge forseoð eower cynn and eowre ylðran mid

⁶⁶ by later hand in margin P; DE SANGUINE in red S; DE SANGUINE PROHIBITO R

⁶⁷ Her . . . ðysum] rubricated and in capitals P

⁶⁸ R, S; pære P (this emendation was suggested by Kluge)

⁶⁹ nytena in margin with signe de renvoie P

⁷⁰ P; inlende S and R

⁷¹ P, S; gesette and alyfede R

⁷² ða om. S

⁷³ deð R

⁷⁴ P; abutan S, R

⁷⁵ P, R; Þeah þe hit S

⁷⁶ S finishes here

⁷⁷ P; eower R

⁷⁸ P; hæþera R

TRANSLATION

It is revealed here in this writing how almighty God forbade mankind to eat the blood of each species. God said to Noah after the great flood: "I give you the fish of the sea and the beasts of the earth as your food, provided that you do not eat their blood. Truly I shall require the blood of the beasts at your hands and I shall require from his slayer the life of the man who is slain. Whoever sheds human blood, his blood shall be shed." Likewise God said to Moses: "I am your God who led you out of Egypt. Do not eat the blood of any beast or of birds or other animals for your food. Every person who eats blood shall be lost to his people, whether he be a native or a stranger, because the beast's life is in the blood. Whoever catches a bird or a wild animal, of those which are permitted to people as food, let him pour out their blood on the earth and whoever takes of the blood and eats it will be lost to his people." Likewise we read in the canons that no beast which is intended as food is killed in a pure fashion unless the internal blood, which is about the heart, run out. Even if it be made bloody in some member and the vital blood not run out, nevertheless it is considered to have died.

I also say to you, brother Edward, now that you have asked me for this, that you do wrong in that you abandon the English customs which your fathers observed and love the customs of the heathen people who did not give life to you and by doing so you reveal that you despise your kindred

þam unþeawum / þonne ge him on teonan tysliað eow⁷⁹ on Denisc, ableredum hneccan and ablendum eagum. Ne secge ic na⁸⁰ mare embe ða sceandlican tyslunge⁸¹ buton þæt⁸² us secgað bec þæt se beo amansumod þe hæðenra manna þeawas hylt on his life and his agen cynn unwurþað mid þam.⁸³

Ic bidde eac þe, broðor, forþam ðe þu byst uppan lande mid wimmanum oftor þonne ic beo, þæt þu him an þing secge, gif ðu for sceame swa þeah hit him secgan mæge; me sceamað þearle þæt ic hit secge ðe. Ic hit gehyrde oft secgan, and hit is yfel soð, þæt þas uplendiscan wif wyllað oft drincan and furþon etan fullice⁸⁴ on gangsetlum æt heora gebeorscipum, ac hit is bysmorlic dæd and mycel higeleas and huxlic bysmor þæt ænig man æfre swa unþeawfæst beon sceole þæt he þone muð ufan mid mettum afylle and on oðerne ende him gange þæt meox ut fram and drince þonne ægðer ge þæt ealu ge þone stencg, þæt he huru swa afylle his fracodan gyferynse. Ic ne mæg for sceame þa sceandlican dæde, þæt ænig mann sceole etan on gange, swa fullice secgan swa hit fullic is, ac þæt næfre ne deð⁸⁵ nan ðæra manna ðe deah.

⁷⁹ eow om. R

⁸⁰ A later hand seems to have added a contraction mark or a u over -a.

⁸¹ P; tyslinga R

⁸² þæt om. R

⁸³ R ends here but part of a line has been erased: Ic bidde eac þe broþor can just about be deciphered

⁸⁴ first l seems to be erased P

⁸⁵ Kluge prints nedeð

and your ancestors by such evil customs when you dress in insult to them in Danish fashion, with bared necks and blinded eyes. I will say no more about this shameful dress except that books tell us that he will be cursed who practises the customs of heathen people in his life and dishonours his own kindred in the process.

I also ask you, brother, since you are up country with women more often than I am, that you say one thing to them, if, however, you can say it to them on account of shame; I am very ashamed to say it to you. I often heard it said, and it is an evil truth, that country women will often drink and even eat foully on their privies at their beer parties, but it is a shameful deed and a great folly and a contemptible disgrace that people should ever be so dissolute that they should fill their mouths from above with foods and at the other end the excrement should come out of them and that they should drink both the ale and the stench so that they may indeed satisfy their vile gluttony. On account of shame I cannot tell the shameful deed, that any person should eat on the privy, in as foul a manner as it is foul, but no person who is virtuous ever does this.

JONATHAN WILCOX

The Transmission of
Ælfric's Letter to Sigefyrth
and the Mutilation of
MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv

THE MATERIAL TRANSMISSION OF Anglo-Saxon homilies has been investigated widely in recent years, not least in the works of Donald Scragg, whose "Corpus of Vernacular Homilies" mapped the terrain of anonymous homiletic manuscripts, whose "Corpus of Anonymous Lives" promises to do the same for saints' lives, and whose "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX" shows what can be learned from pursuing one particularly interesting homily in detail.¹ Such work often involves giving considered attention to a single manuscript as, for example, in Scragg's studies of the Vercelli Book and the Blickling Manuscript.² Occasionally such study

¹ Respectively: D. G. Scragg, "The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives Before Ælfric," ASE 8 (1979): 223-77; "The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), 209-30; and "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX: Its Sources, Its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and Its Style," ASE 6 (1977): 197-211.

² D. G. Scragg, "The Compilation of the Vercelli Book," ASE 2 (1973): 189-207; and "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), 299-316.

necessitates attention to the work of the antiquaries of the early modern period who played a key role in the recovery of Anglo-Saxon texts as, for example, in Scragg's work on the Casley transcript of *The Battle of Maldon*.³ In the present essay in honour of Donald Scragg, I plan to pursue these various strands to investigate the transmission of one homiletic work with an interesting history, a tract on virginity by Ælfric that served as both a letter and a homily, which has to date been mostly neglected. Specifically I will look at the transmission, adaptation, and suppression of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann II).⁴ In the process I will pursue a codicological argument about London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv which will lead me to consider the working practice and ideology of the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century users and owners of that manuscript.

Ælfric describes the purpose and context of his *Letter to Sigefyrth* in an informative brief preface that is worth quoting in full:

Ælfric abbod gret Sigefyrð freondlice. Me is gesæd þæt þu sædest be me, þæt ic oðer tæhte on Ængliscen gewriten, oðer eower ancor æt ham mid eow tæhð, for þan þe he swutelice sægð þæt hit seo aledfed, þæt mæssepreostas wel moten wifigen, and mine gewriten wiðcwedeð þysen. Nu secge ic þe, leofe man, þæt me is lað to tælen ægne Godes freond, gyf he Godes riht drifð, [end of MS Vesp. D. xiv] ac we sculen secgen, and forswigigen ne durren, þa halgen lare, þe se Hælend tæhte. Seo lar[e mæ]lig eaðe unc emlice semen.⁵

[Abbot Ælfric greets Sigefyrth in a friendly manner. It is told to me that you said about me that I teach one thing in my English writings and your anchorite at home with you teaches another, because he clearly says that it is permitted that mass-priests may well marry and my writings oppose this. Now I tell you, dear sir, that it is hateful to me to reproach any friend of God, if he promotes

³ Donald Scragg, "The Battle of Maldon," in *The Battle of Maldon*, A.D. 991, ed. idem (Oxford, 1991), 2–36.

⁴ Bruno Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 3 (Kassel, 1889; repr. with a suppl. intro. by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1964), homily II, 13–23.

⁵ *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox, Durham Medieval Texts (Durham, 1994), Preface 8d (125). All translations are my own.

God's right, but we must tell and we do not dare to keep silent the holy learning which the Lord taught. That learning may easily reconcile the two of us.]

In this preface, Ælfric crafts a careful rhetorical performance, evident as can be seen in his choice of pronouns. After the formality of the third-person epistolary salutation (in which Ælfric balances *Sigefyrth*), *me* and *ic* chime against *þu* and *þe*, and (the more formal? or strictly plural?) *eower* and *eow*.⁶ Lest the dialectic become too confrontational, *þe* is qualified by the apposition *leoƿe man*. As Ælfric warms to his theme he switches to the authority of the homiletic first person plural pronoun (*we sculen secgen, and forswigigen ne durron*), before trumping even that voice with a gnomic impersonal one (*Seo lare mæg . . .*), with which flourish he can bring together himself and his erstwhile adversary in the Old English dual pronoun (*unc*).

The rhetoric of those pronouns enacts a struggle between two authorities. On the one hand is the first person writer, Ælfric *abbod*, with his rank prominently signalled, who aligns himself with *þa halgen lare, þe se Hælend tæhte*. His appeal to his own name and his body of authoritative writings is characteristic of a claim evident throughout his works.⁷ On the other side, aligned with Sigefyrth, is Sigefyrth's anchorite, apparently maintained by him on his estate, and putting forth his case orally through speech.⁸ The *oðer/oðer* that these two authorities clash over is the question of clerical marriage. The rhetorical care of this preface is motivated by Ælfric's clear and forceful position against clerical marriage, a position which he puts forward elsewhere, as in CH 2, 39.⁹ It is therefore ironic in

⁶ These are probably plural: Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), § 253, remarks that Old English lacks any clear instances of the plural pronoun of reverence or rank.

⁷ On this aspect of his work, see Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, 65–71.

⁸ On anchorites, see Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, 1985), whose informative study begins after the Old English period. On this reference and on Ælfric's recurring preference for coenobitic monasticism over the heremital, see Mary Clayton, "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, 147–75.

⁹ Godden, CH 2, 327–34. Note also the statements in Ælfric's pastoral letters, written to control the conduct of priests, i.e., the Old English Pastoral Letter for Bishop Wulfsig, §§ 13–23, or the First Old English Pastoral Letter for Archbishop Wulfstan, §§ 77–98: ed. Dorothy Whitelock, *Councils and Synods* 1.1 (871–1066) (Oxford, 1981), 198–200, 277–81. The rhetoric may be the more forceful in light of his observation, echoing

the extreme that the foregoing preface should first see notice in print in the context of a sixteenth-century polemic in favour of clerical marriage, an irony with implications that will be explored further in this essay.

Following this preface once stood the *Letter to Sigefyrth*, a tract on virginity in general and a polemic against clerical marriage in particular. Ælfric emphasizes the significance of virginity through the examples of Christ, John the Baptist, and the apostles after they followed Christ. Characteristically he stresses the difference between the current dispensation and that under Mosaic law, when it was essential for leaders of the faith to have wives and children since only the family of Aaron could enter holy orders. He cites various biblical injunctions in favour of virginity, reads the parable of the fruits (Matthew 13:3–23, Mark 4:3–32) as describing the relative virtues of the truly married, widows, and virgins, and finally cites approvingly the celibate examples of good virgin bishops and monks (Martin, Gregory, Augustine, Basil, and Cuthbert by name), of virgin mass-priests (Bede, Jerome, and many others), and of the wise desert fathers. Presumably Ælfric considered such marshalling of authority strong enough to refute Sigefyrth's anchorite.

Such, at any rate, was the probable form of the tract following the preface. It survives in this form into modern times only in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, of s. xii^{med}, where most of the preface remains extant, but from which the following tract has gone missing. The title in the manuscript points up clearly the polemical nature of the work: "Emb Clænnysse þe gehadede mæn healden scylen" ("Concerning the chastity which men in orders should keep"). The modern title, *Letter to Sigefyrth*, is an editorial inference based on the preface. I will return to this manuscript and the problem posed by the loss of its text after considering the other witnesses to the work.

For preservation of the tract, it is fortunate that the complete item from Vespasian D. xiv was transcribed in the sixteenth century by John Joscelyn (1529–1603), the Latin secretary (and Anglo-Saxon scholar) of Archbishop Parker, into his collection, London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. vii, at fols. 10r–12r. The transcript was part of the fourth item

Paul in 1 Corinthians 7:25, "We ne magan eow neadian, ac we myngiað eow þæt ge clænnysse healdan" (First OE Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan, §85; trans Whitelock, "We cannot compel you, but we exhort you that you maintain chastity," 279).

in the collection, in which Joscelyn gathered a number of Ælfric's letters.¹⁰ Unfortunately that transcript was badly damaged in the 1731 Cotton fire: the pages are now blackened and shrunk with text missing from all four sides. Enough survives, however, to recover the tract, carefully transcribed into Assmann's *apparatus criticus*. In any case the tract survives in other forms: Ælfric himself apparently thought the letter powerful enough to re-use it.

A homiletic reworking of the letter by Ælfric himself survives in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v, fols. 182v–184v, where it is an addition written in the first half of the eleventh century to the First Series *Catholic Homilies* in that manuscript, serving as the third of three homilies for the assumption of the Virgin Mary. By chance, this manuscript, too, was singed in the fire of 1731 with the loss of some text,¹¹ but again enough survives to recover the work, which is transcribed by Assmann. In this version there is no preface embedding the tract in a particular set of circumstances; instead, Ælfric has generalized his letter by augmenting it with material on chastity aimed at a broad audience. For example, he admonishes a young layman to remain chaste until marriage just like the maiden he wishes to marry; and for women past childbearing age to abstain from enjoying men since the purpose of sex is for bearing children.¹² A substantial ending on the talents and on the beatitudes is re-used from the end of Ælfric's homily on the Virgin Mary, Assmann III.¹³ Ælfric's responsibility for the adaptation in Vitellius C. v is evident in

¹⁰ See Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), 91–92. The item numbers as listed by Smith are recorded in pencil on repair strips of the recovered manuscript. Humfrey Wanley, *Antiquae literaturae septentrionalis liber alter. Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant . . . Catalogus Historico-Criticus* (Oxford, 1705), 239–40 describes the first items in more detail and so describes this as the seventh item. A fuller account of the contents is provided by Judith Sanders Gale, "John Joscelyn's Notebook: A Study of the Contents and Sources of B.L. Cotton MS Vitellius D. vii," M.Phil. diss., University of Nottingham, 1978 (unseen by me).

¹¹ See Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 220 (285–91).

¹² Assmann II, lines 147–152, 157–161, cf. also lines 132–137.

¹³ On this homily aimed at monks and nuns, see Mary Clayton, "Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary," *Anglia* 104 (1986): 286–315, who shows how Ælfric almost entirely avoids his expressed subject — the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary — instead providing another discussion of virginity based largely on Augustine's *De sancta uirginitate*.

that the added material is all in his distinctive rhythmical prose. The priority of the version as letter is suggested by Ælfric's re-use of existing material in the adaptation.¹⁴ The result of the changes is to shift the emphasis away from a polemical tract against clerical marriage into a more general homily, "De Sancta Uirginitate. uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis" ("Concerning Holy Virginity, or concerning the three orders of chastity") as the rubric has it, aimed at a monastic, clerical, and secular audience of both sexes.

Contemporary popularity of the tract went further. It recurs in another homiletic adaptation, perhaps not made by Ælfric, surviving in two manuscripts, London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix, fols. 17v–21v, of s. xii¹, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302, pp. 66–71, of s. xi/xii.¹⁵ Here the tract is pared down, lacking both the preface and the audience addresses, reduced to a piece of general edification on chastity good for any occasion and used in these manuscripts for two different Sundays following Epiphany.

This tract on virginity, then, had significant appeal in the late Old English period. Ælfric's polemic against clerical marriage circulated in four manuscripts in three different forms. It is a work that happened to suffer misfortunes in its subsequent transmission with its excision from *Vespasian D. xiv* and the partial burning of *Vitellius C. v* and *Vitellius D. vii*. While most of that depredation was the result of chance, the loss from *Vespasian D. xiv* of the most pointedly polemical version of the tract still needs explaining. Solving the enigma of that loss requires a closer look at the make-up and use of the manuscript, at the evidence of early foliations and catalogues, and at the ideological environment of the antiquarian rediscovery of Old English.

Cotton *Vespasian D. xiv* is currently a composite manuscript. Part one comprises an Old English homiletic collection from the middle of the twelfth century, written at Canterbury or Rochester, mostly drawn from a combined collection of the two series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*; part two comprises a copy of Isidore's *Liber synonymorum* perhaps made in Italy

¹⁴ Ælfric's authorship and the priority of the letter is recognized by Assmann, *Homilien*, 248, and by Clemoes, "Supplementary Introduction," xvii, who, however, sees no evidence for whether Ælfric or someone else incorporated the ending from Assmann III.

¹⁵ Clemoes doubts Ælfric's authorship in view of the manuscript context of non-Ælfrician additions to a mainly Ælfric collection: "Supplementary Introduction," xvii.

in the ninth century which had travelled to England by A.D. 912, where it received additions including a dating formula.¹⁶ The two parts were joined at an unknown date before the first Cotton catalogue of 1621.¹⁷ The *Letter to Sigefyrth* was, at one stage, the second item in part one, the homiletic manuscript, although it was added there after the first organization of that part. That manuscript once began with what is now the third item, the Old English "Distichs of Cato", which open after a cancelled (blank?) page at the beginning of the third quire with the decorative pattern of an emphatic visual flourish.¹⁸ Medieval quire signatures surviving later in the manuscript demonstrate that the first two quires were not present when the signatures were recorded: "xi" at the foot of fol. 103v (at the end of what is now the thirteenth quire), ".xiii." at the foot of fol. 119v (at the end of what is now the fifteenth quire) and ".xiiii." at the foot of fol. 129v (at the end of what is now the sixteenth quire) tally only if the manuscript at the time began with what is now the third quire. It is the second of those two added quires which is of interest here.

These first two quires contain two items written in what Ker considered to be the hand of the main scribe writing later than in the bulk of the manuscript.¹⁹ First the scribe added an excerpt from Ælfric's homily on the Creation (CH 1 1) on fols. 4v-6v,²⁰ where the story ends rather

¹⁶ See Ker, *Catalogue*, nos. 209 and 210, and my description of no. 245 in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Volume 8: Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials*, ed. A. N. Doane and Phillip Pulsiano (Tempe, AZ, 2000).

¹⁷ London, British Library, Harley 6018. Viktor Schmetterer, *Drei altenglische religiöse Texte aus der Handschrift Cotton Vespasianus D XIV*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 150 (Vienna, 1981), suggests that the parts were not joined by about 1560, when Laurence Nowell made heavy use of the first part for his Dictionary without showing any knowledge of the second part, but the inference is unreliable. Marks of Nowell's use are confined to the middle of the first part, while the Latin material of the second part would have been of little use for his dictionary making and so would be unlikely to have received his annotations.

¹⁸ Ed. R. S. Cox, "The Old English Distichs of Cato," *Anglia* 90 (1972): 1-42. The heading begins with an enlarged decorated initial M in green with red decoration five lines high, while the text begins with an enlarged N, decorated, and written in red. This is similar to the decoration of most items in the manuscript but is more emphatic than the opening two items. The cancelled leaf is suggested by the arrangement of hair and flesh in the present Quire III (fols. 7-15), which has the norm of hair outermost if both fol. 15 and its missing conjugate were once present.

¹⁹ "Art. 1 (fols. 4v-6v), although perhaps in the main hand, is in a somewhat different style of script; art. 2 (fol. 6v) is certainly in the main hand": *Catalogue*, 271.

²⁰ The recto of the first folio, fol. 4r, was originally left blank but was subsequently

prematurely with Adam's appointment to paradise and abrupt expulsion.²¹ The faulty ending results from a deficient exemplar rather than from loss, since the homily ends mid-page with the usual signs of completion, namely a point and a blank line, filled with the following rubric. This homily occupies an opening short quire of a bifolium (fols. 4–5) within a book made up otherwise of quires of eight or ten.²² Perhaps a short quire was supplied intentionally for this abbreviated item although, after the blank opening page, it overruns this quire by a page and a half (fol. 6r and 6v, lines 1–14). After this initial item comes the preface to the *Letter to Sigefyrth* on fol. 6v, lines 14–22. This also ends abruptly, this time through physical loss, breaking off at the end of the page just short of the end of the preface. Fol. 6 is now a single folio constituting a quire, but there is clear evidence that it once began a quire of eight. An older ink foliation jumps from “3” on what is now fol. 6 to “11” on what is now fol. 7, indicating that seven folios have gone missing.

The absent seven leaves or fourteen pages would have included the rest of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigefyrth*, which likely occupied a further eight pages or so,²³ plus a further text or texts now completely lost on the remaining six or so pages. The *Letter to Sigefyrth* and whatever text(s) followed it have been removed from Vespasian D. xiv by dismantling the second quire and removing seven of its leaves. Presumably fol. 6 was left on account of what it carries of CH 1.1. All the same, the removal was careless to the extent that the removed text must have lacked the bulk of the preface and have

filled with two Latin prayers in a late twelfth-century hand with feminine forms which suggest the manuscript was then in female ownership.

²¹ Cleomes, CH 1, 178–81, lines 1–70. The addition at line 70 was surely made to blunt the abruptness of the ending; another addition at line 45 is harder to explain.

²² Collation of the medieval leaves in the first part of Vespasian D. xiv is as follows: I² (fols. 4–5), II⁸ wants 2–8 (fol. 6), III¹⁰ wants 1 (fols. 7–15), IV–VIII⁸ (fols. 16–57), IX¹⁰ (fols. 58–67), X⁸ (fols. 68–75), XI¹⁰⁺¹ leaf added after 10 (fols. 76–86), XII⁸ (fols. 87–94), XIII⁸⁺¹ leaf added after 8 (fols. 95–103), XIV–XV⁸ (fols. 104–119), XVI¹⁰ (fols. 120–129), XVII–XXI⁸ (fols. 130–169).

²³ The eight surviving manuscript lines provide nine printed lines of Assmann's edition, so a complete manuscript page of 22 lines would have contained almost 25 printed lines and the complete remaining text (225 printed lines total, less 17 from Vitellius C. v only and 9 already written = 199 printed lines) would fill about eight further pages. The sum is approximate in view of variations in manuscript spacing and in the length of printed lines, amplified by Assmann's choice to represent Ælfric's rhythmical prose in separate lines, but is surely right within a page or two.

begun in mid-flow, while that preface is allowed to remain, now lacking a following body, on fol. 6v.

For seeking to identify who removed these pages, it is significant that Vespasian D. xiv passed through the hands of many of the leading Anglo-Saxon scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Robert Talbot (c. 1505–1558), Anglo-Saxon scholar and sometime chaplain to Thomas Cranmer (archbishop of Canterbury 1533–1553), made marginal notes throughout Part 1, and possibly owned the manuscript.²⁴ Laurence Nowell (1530–c. 1570), who worked in the household of Sir William Cecil (Elizabeth's Secretary of State) from 1562 until he departed England in 1567, underlined many words on fols. 52r–142v, which he subsequently copied into his *Vocabularium*, along with adding some glosses.²⁵ His citations from Vespasian D. xiv survive in London, Lambeth Palace, 692, fol. 29r–v.²⁶ Part 1 is also annotated in the hand of John Joscelyn, whose work in transcribing the *Letter to Sigefyrth* has already been described. In addition to these interventions, Joscelyn also transcribed the whole of the preface of the *Letter to Sigefyrth* from Vespasian D. xiv into the side and lower margin of Faustina A. ix, fol. 17v, thereby improving the version of the *Letter* contained in that manuscript.²⁷ In the early seventeenth century, Richard James (1592–1638), Cotton's librarian (1625–1638), made a list of the contents of both parts of Vespasian D. xiv on fol. 2r,²⁸ which corresponds closely to the description of the manuscript in the Cotton catalogue of 1631–1638, London, British Library, Add. 36789, at fols.

²⁴ John Bale attributes to his possession a copy of Ælfric's homilies and this manuscript is the likely candidate: see Timothy Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv: Robert Talbot and William L'Isle," in *The Old English Hexateuch: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000), 258–59.

²⁵ His activity is listed by Schmetterer, *Drei altenglische religiöse Texte*, 9–17. See, further, n. 17 above.

²⁶ Timothy Graham, "The Beginnings of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker," in *Back to the Manuscripts: Papers from the Symposium "The Integrated Approach to Manuscript Studies: A New Horizon,"* Tokyo, December 1992, ed. Shuji Sato (Tokyo, 1997), 29–50, here 40, n. 33.

²⁷ See Ker, *Catalogue*, 190.

²⁸ Hand and layout of the table are like the example by Richard James reproduced in Colin G. C. Tite, "Lost or Stolen or Strayed: A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library," *British Library Journal* 18 (1992): 107–47 as fig. 4 (133). The identification is made by Max Förster, "Der Inhalt der altenglischen Handschrift Vespasianus D. XIV," *Englische Studien* 54 (1920): 46–68, here 46–47.

161v–162r.²⁹ Another list of contents, on fol. 3r, is in the hand of a contemporary unidentified scribe frequently employed by the Cottons;³⁰ this list corresponds closely to the Cotton catalogue of 1621 in Harley 6018, at fol. 54r. Sir Robert Cotton himself (1571–1631) probably wrote the heading, “Opus Sermonum Ælfrici abbatis”, on fol. 4r.³¹ The manuscript passed with the rest of his collection to Robert Cotton’s son and grandson, then to public ownership ultimately to reside in the newly-founded British Museum. It was described in the 1696 catalogue of Thomas Smith and in more detail in the 1705 catalogue of Humfrey Wanley, who was the first to record the absence of the bulk of Ælfric’s *Letter to Sigefyrth*.³²

Many of these early owners were interested in Ælfric’s tract on clerical celibacy. Joscelyn’s interest is clearly indicated by his transcription both of the whole piece and of the preface. Joscelyn’s employer, Matthew Parker, was also interested in the tract, which finds a place in the introduction to his *Testimonie of Antiquitie* described below. The tract is the first Old English piece mentioned by name in Richard James’s table of contents on fol. 2r.³³ Fol. 6v itself, the surviving page of the tract, received marginal comments in two different hands. Besides the rubric in the margin is written in ink “Tractatus de | sacerdotis cæli | batu”, which matches the entry in Thomas Smith’s 1696 catalogue. In lighter ink a more shaky hand has added a note calling attention to Ælfric’s self-naming and authorship of this preface, obtrusively written over the decorative Æ and some of the text. At the foot of the page perhaps the same hand adds a note pointing out that this is a tract against priestly marriage.

The issue of clerical marriage was of particular interest in the charged

²⁹ This catalogue may have been made in 1631–1632; see Colin G. C. Tite, “The Early Catalogues of the Cottonian Library,” *British Library Journal* 6 (1980): 144–57.

³⁰ Hand and layout are like those in the example reproduced in Tite, ‘Lost or Stolen or Strayed,’ fig. 5 (134).

³¹ See Colin G. C. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, The Panizzi Lectures 1993 (London, 1994), 43–45, for Cotton’s practice of providing headings in his manuscripts.

³² Smith, *Catalogus*, 114–15, and Wanley, *Antiquæ literaturæ*, 202 (both as n. 10).

³³ James lists all the Old English items in an omnibus heading as his third item in the manuscript, following the two Latin prayers added on fol. 4r, i.e., “3 Miscellanea Saxonica in quibus De sacerdotum nuptiis. De Decalogo Moysis . . .”. His principle of selection seems to be to pick up rubricated items, which thereby excludes the opening item from CH 1.1 or the “Distichs of Cato,” although he does not include all rubricated items.

atmosphere of the Elizabethan recovery of Old English. Joscelyn's employer, Archbishop Matthew Parker, was particularly concerned with the issue. Parker, Queen Elizabeth's first head of the newly established Church of England as Archbishop of Canterbury from 1559 to 1575, was interested in Old English in order to recover the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon church to show that Elizabethan reformers were, in fact, recovering the true way of the ancient church in England. As has been recently well demonstrated, Parker pursued a limited number of preoccupations across a wide range of reading; specifically, he looked for material on transubstantiation, on the translation of scripture into the vernacular, and on the issue of clerical marriage.³⁴

A defence of clerical marriage was of personal significance to Parker. He had married in 1547, while master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and his marriage was a principal reason he had been deprived of all preferments and gone into hiding during the Catholic resurgency of Queen Mary. Although he was subsequently elevated to the metropolitan see by Elizabeth, that Queen opposed his position on the marriage of priests. In such a situation, Parker was open to personal embarrassment, as in an incident reported by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Elizabeth,

touched by the grace and courtesy of her reception when on a visit to Lambeth Palace, but unable altogether to suppress her dislike of clerical matrimony, took leave of her hostess with the oft-quoted words: "Madam I may not call you; mistress I am ashamed to call you; but yet I thank you."³⁵

Parker's position won out in the formulation of the Elizabethan Articles of Religion, in which article 32 spells out the right of bishops, priests, and deacons to marry at their own discretion. All the same, this was a doctrinal issue that retained Parker's interest. In 1567 (?), he published *A Defence of priestes mariages, stablysshed by the imperiall lawes of the Realme of Englande, agaynst a Ciuilian, namying hym selfe Thomas Martin doctour of the Ciuile Lawes* ... (STC 17519). Among his historical arguments in this work, Parker notes the anti-marriage bias of the tenth-century monastic re-

³⁴ See R. I. Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books* (Kalamazoo, 1993), esp. 93.

³⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Parker, 261–62.

formers Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald, but turns even this into grist for his polemic by observing that these "three Monkishe Busshoppes, expelled secular married Priestes out of Cathedrall Churches, but condemned not their mariages, nor separated them" (215).

Parker certainly knew Ælfric's tract on virginity, since he and his fellow workers used it in the famous first printing of Anglo-Saxon: *A Testimonie of Antiquitie shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publikey preached, and also receaved in the Saxons tyme, aboue 600. yeares agoe*, printed by John Day in autumn 1566 (STC 159 and 159.5), a discussion of transubstantiation including an edition of Ælfric's Easter homily on the eucharist.³⁶ In the introduction, Parker and his scholarly helpers reconstructed Ælfric's identity, largely through reference to his prefaces, including that to the Letter to Sigefyrth.

What, then, did Parker make of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigefyrth*? He presumably disapproved of its content. Parker notoriously improved his books by tidying messy openings, cleaning off or supplying text where necessary, moving around items as he had works rebound, and adding frontispieces.³⁷ It is unlikely, though, that he is responsible for the excision of the text from Vespasian D. xiv. When Parker did remove texts, he exercised considerable care to keep the beginning and end tidy, if necessary covering over or erasing orphaned part-texts, while getting missing text copied over in an imitative hand. For example, Parker seems to have removed a fragmentary homily, *De virginitate*, from the end of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 198 through the excision of a folio combined with the erasure of some orphaned text on the final remaining verso, while he had an orphaned text that was left over from the removal of documentary material from Cambridge, University Library, li. 2. 11 pasted over with paper.³⁸ The messy retention of the body-less opening of the *Letter to*

³⁶ See John Bromwich, "The First Book Printed in Anglo-Saxon Types," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959–1962): 265–91, and Theodore H. Leinbaugh, "Ælfric's *Sermo de sacrificio in die Pascae*: Anglican Polemic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries*, ed. Carl T. Berkhout and Milton McC. Gatch (Boston, 1982), 51–68.

³⁷ See Ker, *Catalogue*, liii; and Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books*, 46–55.

³⁸ See Graham, "Beginnings of OE Studies," 43–44, and Timothy Graham, "A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, the Exeter Book, and Cambridge University Library MS li. 2. 11," *Trans-*

Sigefyrth has none of the hallmarks of Parker's mutilation of manuscripts.

Rather than removing the treatise, Parker and his collaborators managed to neutralize Ælfric's point in their own polemical use of the tract. They allude to Ælfric's preface in *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* for explicit evidence that Ælfric was an abbot, and they contextualize Ælfric's doctrinal position:

So vppon this his education in the schooles of Æthelwolde he became afterward to be an earnest loue and a great setter forward of monkerye, and therefore no lesse busie writer and speaker agaynst the matrimonye of priestes in hys tyme. (fol. 7r-v)³⁹

They then cite the preface to make precisely the opposite to Ælfric's point. As it is summarized in *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*, Ælfric

sent to one Sygefyrth, with whom was an anker abyding, which defended the mariage of priestes, affyrming it to be lawfull. (fol. 8r)

For all Ælfric's hard rhetorical work, the anchorite whose position is destroyed by Ælfric's polemic is all that is left standing in this interested retelling. In *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*, Parker and his collaborators react to the bulk of Ælfric's polemic by ignoring it.

If Parker did not remove the tract, who did? The evidence points equivocally to Sir Robert Cotton. Evidence for dating the loss is provided by the foliations. The first foliation, inaccurate in a number of places, was added before the loss.⁴⁰ A second foliation, also in ink, allows for the

actions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 10 (1991–1995): 421–55 at 451–52. On the puzzling but painstaking movement of an item from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 162 to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178, where Parker again scrupulously eliminates orphaned fragments, see Graham, "Beginnings of OE Studies," 44.

³⁹ Citations are from the version of *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* with a foliated introduction, i.e., the second edition.

⁴⁰ This foliation repeats the pair of numbers 12 and 13, the number 31, omits 35–43 but resumes inaccurately with 40, repeats the number 52, omits the number 72, and repeats the number 136. Max Förster, "Die spätaltenglische Übersetzung der Pseudo-Anselmschen Marienpredigt," *Palaestra (Anglica: Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie)* 148 (1925), 8–69, here 9–10, and Schmetterer, *Drei altenglische religiöse Texte*, 9, claim that the foliation only covers Part 1, but "164" is entered on the first page of Part 2 (the present fol. 170r), although the distinct form of the 4 may suggest this is a later addition.

loss, and proceeds accurately throughout the manuscript. Both foliations have been superseded by a contemporary foliation in pencil that starts with the parchment flyleaves. The loss of the *Letter to Sigefyrth* happened between the first and second foliation. The first foliation is cited in Nowell's word-list in London, Lambeth Palace, 692, fol. 29r-v, and so was in place by the 1560s. Yet another foliation, this one in tens written on every tenth verso, provides an outer limit for the loss. Such foliation is associated with the commission inspecting the Cotton collection in 1702-1703. This count demonstrates that the missing section had gone by this date.⁴¹ The second full foliation probably post-dates the foliation in decades.⁴² This coincides with the evidence of Wanley: the *Letter to Sigefyrth* had gone by the time of his inspection of the manuscript prior to his publication of the catalogue in 1705.

A more precise date for the loss is provided by the evidence of tables of contents and catalogues. In particular, the catalogue by Richard James from 1631-1638, probably 1631-1632, replicating the information he recorded on fol. 2r, includes mention of the tract with no hint that it was fragmentary at that time. The Thomas Smith catalogue of 1696 complicates the picture since this repeats a similar description, which might lead to the same inference for that late time, except that Smith is probably drawing his information from the earlier catalogues.⁴³ The omission is fully recorded in Wanley's catalogue of 1705, who remarks that the tract

⁴¹ "10" occurs on fol. 12v, presumably incorporating a parchment flyleaf subsequently removed to London, British Library, Royal 13 D.I*. This foliation twice goes wrong, incorporating an extra leaf between 110 and 120 and between 160 and 170, which leads to an inaccurate record on the final page (present 224v) "Cons. fol. 220". On the work and date of the commission, see Tite, *Manuscript Library*, 37.

⁴² The accurate second foliation does not include any flyleaves and does not make the mistakes of the foliation in decades. The second foliator may be the one who corrects the total on fol. 224v to record "221" folios. The suggestion is that of Schmetterer, *Drei altenglische religiöse Texte*, 26-27.

⁴³ Like Richard James, Smith gives four main items, namely the two opening prayers, the OE omnibus, and the Isidore, but now the Old English is further itemized:

3. *Ælfrici Abbatis Homiliæ in festis diebus Sanctorum; et alii tractatus, Saxonicæ, viz*
 1. De Sacerdotum cælibatu.
 2. De Decalogo Mosis
 3. De duodecim abusivis . . . etc.

is missing after line 8 and that fols. 4–10 are missing.⁴⁴ The omission, then, can be dated between when Richard James worked over the manuscript sometime after 1625 and when Wanley or the commission worked over it at the very beginning of the eighteenth century.

Within that frame, the most probable time for an excision is early on, when Sir Robert Cotton was actively organizing his collection. Certainly Cotton had the manuscript bound in his own distinctive binding as was his custom throughout his collection. Cotton was in the habit of rearranging his manuscripts, including removing material.⁴⁵ He may have had the tract removed with what came after it for reasons that are now hard to recover.

Loss of the tract on virginity may be backhanded evidence for its importance in the seventeenth century, assuming it was excised to be used somewhere else. After such a flurry of activity surrounding the tract in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, interest dropped off until the nineteenth century. Different political expedients control the treatment of the text by Bruno Assmann from those influencing Archbishop Parker. In place of the pressing theological concerns of the English reformation, Assmann is concerned with protocols and responsibilities of nineteenth-century philology. Assmann's imperatives have to do with accuracy and with completeness, in each of which he succeeds admirably: Assmann's end-notes describe well the state of the manuscripts and point to the three distinct redactions, while his main text creates for Ælfric a work that never was. He bases this principally on Vitellius C. v, but he omits the distinctive ending of that version (recorded in the textual variants to his next item) and adds the preface from Vespasian D. xiv, while titling this hybrid based on Faustina A. ix/CCCC 302, "Ælfric: Be þære halgan clænnysse."⁴⁶ What he creates in this main text is neither polemic nor homily but a recovered old text, decently and vaguely titled as such.

In the early twenty-first century, such a philological drive to wholeness

⁴⁴ Wanley, *Antiquæ*, 202.

⁴⁵ Tite, *Manuscript Library*, 45, estimates that he rearranged perhaps half of all his volumes, "removing articles from existing volumes to distribute them among others." See also Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586–1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1979), 68–71.

⁴⁶ Presumably he preferred this title to Vitellius C. v's in that it is, at least, in the right language, while he also avoids the specificity of the homiletic attributions.

has been replaced by a postmodern-inflected appreciation for the fragmentary, so that the latest editor of the tract's preface, myself, could be willing to fragment all of Ælfric's prefaces from the works that went after them, thereby hoping to reclaim attention for an Anglo-Saxon author within a world where short works satisfy most readers' desires. Still, having been taught Old English by an exacting master, I have now returned to offer up this investigation of the body of the text in honour of this volume's dedicatee, Donald Scragg.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ I wish to thank Timothy Graham for reading and commenting on a draft of this essay and for educating me about Parker's normal *modus operandi*.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

Ælfric's Schooldays

TO THE QUESTION OF WHERE Ælfric, the learned grammarian and homilist, received his early Latin training, the answer is clear and unambiguous: in Winchester, as he tells us in the preface to his *Grammar*, at the school of the venerable bishop Æthelwold (*in scola Aðeluwoldi uenerabilis praesulis*). There are no grounds for challenging this statement, and indeed there is much evidence to support it. For example, the contents of a list of books which Æthelwold gifted to his newly refounded monastery at Peterborough¹ squares significantly with what can be deduced of Ælfric's reading from works that he quotes throughout his extensive corpus of writings;² the works in question may therefore be taken to represent the core of Æthelwold's teaching at Winchester, where Ælfric was his student, and which he was concerned to institute at his new foundation. We know from Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* that Æthelwold always took great pleasure in teaching "young men (*adolescentes*) and the more mature stu-

¹ The list is edited by Michael Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. idem and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 33–89, here 52–55.

² See discussion in Michael Lapidge, "Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher," in *Bishop Æthelwold, His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 89–117, here 110. The works in question are: Bede's commentary on Mark, Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon* (of which Ælfric prepared an epitome: see Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* [Toronto and Buffalo, 1977], 129–46), the Hiberno-Latin treatise *De duodecim abusiuus saeculi*, and the treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* by Ratramnus of Corbie.

dents (*iuuenes*), translating Latin texts into English for them, passing on the rules of grammar and metric, and encouraging them to do better by cheerful words.”³ Ælfric is clearly to be numbered among these *adolescentes* and *iuuenes*. However, Wulfstan’s statement obviously does not pertain to oblates or *pueri*, with whom Æthelwold did not concern himself. And in any case, as a busy bishop of a prestigious see, Æthelwold will have frequently been away from Winchester attending the king’s council, and so on, and it would probably be appropriate to think of his teaching stints in terms of occasional master classes rather than as the day-to-day and line-by-line grind through curriculum texts. In short, although Ælfric in later life was proud to regard himself as an *alumnus* of Æthelwold’s school, it is highly unlikely that he received his schooling from Æthelwold alone, and certainly not his earliest training in Latin.

Interesting light is thrown on the nature of Ælfric’s early Latin training by close attention to the wording of the Latin preface to his *Grammar*. Because this preface has various implications for our understanding of Ælfric, it may be helpful to quote it here and to provide a translation:

Ego Ælfricus, ut minus sapiens, has excerptiones de Prisciano minore uel maiore uobis puerulis tenellis ad uestram linguam transferre studui, quatinus perlectis octo partibus Donati in isto libello potestis utramque linguam, uidelicet latinam et anglicam, uestrae teneritudini inserere interim, usquequo ad perfectiora perueniatis studia. Noui namque multos me reprehensuros, quod talibus studiis meum ingenium occupare uoluisssem, scilicet grammaticam artem ad anglicam linguam uertendo. Sed ego deputo hanc lectionem inscientibus puerulis, non senibus, aptandam fore. Scio multimodis uerba posse interpretari, sed ego simplicem interpretationem sequor fastidii uitandi causa. Si alicui tamen displicuerit, nostram interpretationem dicat, quomodo uult: nos contenti sumus, sicut didicimus in scola Aðeluuoldi, uenerabilis praesulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuuit. Sciendum tamen, quod ars grammatica multis in locis non fa-

³ Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 31, ed. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991), 46–48: “Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et iuuenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglice eis soluere, et regulas grammaticae artis ac metricae rationis tradere, et iocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari.”

cile anglicae linguae capit interpretationem, sicut de pedibus uel metris, de quibus hic reticemus, sed aestimamus ad inchoationem tamen hanc interpretationem paruulis prodesse posse, sicut iam diximus. Miror ualde, quare multi corripiunt sillabas in prosa, quae in metro breues sunt, cum prosa absoluta sit a lege metri; sicut pronuntiant *pater* brittonice et *malus* et similia, quae in metro habentur breues. Mihi tamen uidetur melius inuocare Deum patrem honorifice producta sillaba, quam brittonice corripere, quia nec Deus arti grammaticae subiciendus est. Valete, o pueruli, in Domino.⁴

[I Ælfric, an unlearned person, have undertaken to translate for you young boys these *Excerptiones de Prisciano minore uel maiore* into your own language, so that, once you have read through the eight parts [of speech] of Donatus in this little book, you can for the time being ingest either language (that is, Latin and English) into your tender souls, until such time as you progress to more advanced studies. I realize that there will be many who will blame me that I have wished to occupy my talent with undertakings of this sort, that is, by translating a [Latin] grammatical treatise into English. But I consider this exercise to be intended for untutored boys, not for old men. I know that words can be rendered in many ways, but I always adopt the straightforward interpretation for the sake of avoiding tedium. If, however, this should displease someone, let him say what he wants about my translation: I am happy to translate in the way I learned at the school of Æthelwold, the venerable bishop, who taught many for their own good. For it should be recognized that in many places [the terminology of] Latin grammar does not easily lend itself to translation, for instance in discussion of metrical feet, concerning which I shall say nothing; but I think nevertheless at the outset that this translation can be of some benefit to youngsters, as I mentioned previously. I wonder greatly why many people shorten syllables in prose which are metrically short, since prose is free from metrical restrictions. Thus they

⁴ *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar. Text und Varianten*, ed. Julius Zupitza, 3rd ed. with foreword by Helmut Gneuss (Hildesheim, 2001), 1–2; also ed. Jonathan Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1994), 114–15, with modern English translation at 130.

pronounce *pater* in the Brittonic manner, and *malus*, and other similar words which in metre are scanned short. To me it seems better to invoke God the Father (*patrem*) with a long syllable, rather than to shorten it in the Brittonic manner, since God is not to be subjected to the rules of grammar. Be well, youngsters, in the Lord.]

Ælfric's statement about his sources here — that he is translating into English a Latin treatise made up of excerpts drawn from two separate works of Priscian, which he calls the "greater" (that is, the *Institutiones*) and the "lesser" (the *Partitiones*, presumably), in order to supplement the knowledge of elementary grammar which will have been acquired by youngsters from their previous study of the *Ars maior* of Donatus (*octo partibus Donati*)⁵ — is of great interest to students of medieval grammar, and has naturally attracted serious scholarly interest.⁶

What has not attracted interest, however, is the curious statement at the end of the preface, to the effect that syllables which were metrically short were, "in the Brittonic manner" (*brittonice*), pronounced as such, even in prose, whereas Ælfric himself would prefer to pronounce such syllables as long. This statement is of exceptional interest, for several reasons. In the first place, statements by contemporaries about the pronunciation of medieval Latin are exceptionally rare, and most of what is known about this subject has to be reconstructed from orthography and from pronunciation of the regional Romance languages which succeeded Vulgar Latin.⁷ It is thus startling to learn that in the late tenth century, in Wales — for that is what *brittonice* refers to — distinctions of vowel quantity were being observed. Although Britain had been a diocese (including several provinces) of the Roman Empire, and Latin had been spoken throughout the

⁵ The *Ars maior* is ed. Louis Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: Etude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle) et édition critique* (Paris, 1981), 603–74.

⁶ See especially Vivien Law, "Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*," in eadem, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1997), 200–23 (203–6 on the sources of the *Excerptiones*). An edition of the unprinted *Excerptiones* has recently been published by D. W. Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano: The Source for Ælfric's Latin–Old English Grammar* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁷ On the pronunciation(s) of medieval Latin, see now Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters III. Lautlehre* (Munich, 1996).

diocese, the Anglo-Saxon settlements of the fifth and sixth centuries prevented the Latin spoken by the citizens of Roman Britain from developing into a Romance vernacular, and had the effect of sequestering the remnants of sub-Roman Britain in what are now Wales and Cornwall. The church in Wales, which had already been established in Roman times (and thus predated the Augustinian mission by several centuries), held itself fiercely aloof from the Anglo-Saxon church, with the result that, until the ninth century or later, there was little contact between Wales and England (and, by the same token, between Wales and continental Europe). In this isolated situation, the Welsh church and Welsh schools inevitably clung conservatively to ancient (and archaic) tradition.⁸ This conservatism will no doubt have been reflected in the ways Latin was studied and pronounced in Welsh schools. Unfortunately, we have very little secure evidence pertaining to the pronunciation of Latin either in Roman Britain or in Dark Age Welsh schools (assuming what cannot be proven, namely that there was continuity between them). Various deductions have been made on the basis of Latin loanwords in early Welsh,⁹ and one might also point to Vulgar Latin features in the orthography of St Patrick's writings (fifth century)¹⁰ and the schoolroom colloquy known as *De raris fabuli* (ninth century?).¹¹ But this evidence in sum does not allow us to form a

⁸ See M. Lapidge, "Latin Learning in Dark Age Wales: Some Prolegomena," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. D. Ellis Evans, John G. Griffith, and E. M. Jope (Oxford, 1986), 91-107.

⁹ The pioneering discussion is that by Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), esp. 76-121. Jackson's conclusion that the Vulgar Latin spoken in Roman Britain was, by continental standards, conservative and archaic (see esp. 108-9), was vigorously challenged by A. S. Gratwick, "Latinitas Britannica: Was British Latin Archaic?" in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester, 1982), 1-79. Celtic philologists have not wholly accepted Gratwick's criticisms of Jackson's thesis: see, for example, Damian McManus, "Linguarum Diversitas: Latin and the Vernaculars in Early Medieval Britain," *Peritia* 3 (1984): 151-88, who concludes that "Gratwick has not succeeded in dismantling Professor Jackson's case for a partially conservative British Latin" (186).

¹⁰ See K. Mras, "St. Patricius als Lateiner," *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse* 90 (1953): 99-113, and Elena Malaspina, *Patrizio e l'acculturazione latina dell'Irlanda* (Rome, 1984), esp. 249-334.

¹¹ W. H. Stevenson, ed., *Early Scholastic Colloquies* (Oxford, 1929), 1-11. The text has yet to receive the attention it deserves; see Lapidge, "Latin Learning in Dark Age Wales," 94-97.

clear notion of how Latin was pronounced either in Roman Britain or in Dark Age Wales.

For these reasons Ælfric's comments on how in the late tenth century Latin was pronounced "in the Welsh manner" (*brittonice*)¹² are potentially very important. It is particularly interesting that, to Ælfric's ear, the Welsh pronunciation of Latin preserved a distinction between short and long vowels, pronouncing, for example, *pater* and *malus* ("evil") with short vowels in the first (accented) syllables, exactly as the words would be scanned in Latin metre. (Ælfric's preference was to pronounce as long the same vowels in accented syllables in any spoken context that was non-metrical: hence the maintenance of the distinction between short and long vowels struck him as unnecessarily pedantic, and he was not prepared, as he says, to subject God the Father to the rules of grammar.¹³) Now it is uncontroversially established that the distinction between long and short vowels in Classical Latin was abandoned in spoken (Vulgar) Latin and hence was not preserved in the Romance languages.¹⁴ That such a distinction was being maintained in the pronunciation of Latin in tenth-century Welsh schools may be a further piece of evidence for the conservative nature of education in early medieval Wales.

The important question for students of Ælfric, however, is why, in the course of a discussion of elementary Latin grammar, he should advert explicitly to the Welsh pronunciation of Latin. These observations sit oddly with the remainder of his preface, and the most obvious explanation is that they spring from the personal experience of his own schooling. How, in other words, did Ælfric come into contact with Welsh pronunciation of Latin? A plausible hypothesis suggests itself. Some thirty years ago I

¹² See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham et al. (Oxford, 1975-), s.v. "Britannice", where attestations are given *inter alia* to Asser's *De vita Ælfredi*, c. 30 etc., but not to the present passage in Ælfric. In any event there is no doubt that by "brittonice" Ælfric meant "Welsh."

¹³ Ælfric is alluding here to a famous remark of Gregory in c. 5 of the Letter to Leander which prefaces his *Moralia in Iob*: "Non sicut huius quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem deuito, situs modosque etiam et praepositionum casus seruare contemno, quia indignum uehementer existimo, ut uerba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati" (ed. M. Adriaen, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 143 [Turnhout, 1979], 7).

¹⁴ See briefly Stotz, *Lautehre*, 5-6 as well as M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (Munich, 1977), 55-57. The bibliography on this subject is vast.

published some Latin poems which were evidently composed at Æthelwold's school at Winchester,¹⁵ and two of these poems, which I entitled *Altercatio magistri et discipuli* and *Responsio discipuli* and which portray an abrasive but humorous debate between a master and his students, concern the activities of a schoolmaster named *Iorue(r)t*, whose name evidently corresponds to Welsh *Iorwerth*.¹⁶ Among the insults which the students hurl at Iorwerth is the accusation that in his native land (Wales) he was a country bumpkin, used to looking after pigs and goats:

finibus in patriis suetus seruare suillos
 siue referre domum scapulis in nocte capellas;
 qui lympham potare solens lacti sociatam
 carnibus hyrcinis postquam satur atque butyro.
 (lines 19–22)

After a further exchange of insults, the students outline the curriculum which they wish to be taught by Iorwerth, including dialectic and harmony (lines 68–82); and although they are utterly scathing about his poetic accomplishments (lines 26–27, 35–38), they end by asking him to continue the debate by composing more poetry:

conditione, pater, tali, ne flagito, Ioruert:
 hinc reprimas linguam nimium quod seditiosam,
 rursus stultiloquam ne cogas sumere pennam
 me, qui mox actus, mores patriosque notabo.
 sordes parce; precorque iterum mihi talia scribe.
 (lines 121–125)

¹⁵ Michael Lapidge, "Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester," *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972): 85–137 (repr. in idem, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* [London, 1993], 225–77).

¹⁶ Lapidge, "Three Latin Poems," 108–21 (repr. in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, 248–61). Iorwerth is named three times in the *Altercatio*, the name being given twice as *Ioruert* (lines 52 and 54) and once as *Ioruert* (line 120), and once in the *Responsio* as *Ioruert* (line 11). On the etymology of the name *Iorwerth*, see the remarks of Anthony Harvey in David Howlett and Anthony Harvey, "An Attack on the Welsh Master Ioruert," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 52 (1994): 281–85, here 282, who explains the name as a compound of Welsh *iôr* ("lord") + *gwerth* ("value", "worth").

Since there is sound evidence that these poems were composed at Winchester, the implication is that Iorwerth had come to England (line 23: "ut fortunatos felix deuenit ad Anglos") from Wales — his name is unambiguously Welsh — and was acting as schoolmaster in Winchester in Æthelwold's time. If Ælfric was among the students whom Iorwerth taught at Winchester, we have a ready explanation for Ælfric's disparagement of the Welsh pronunciation of Latin, which otherwise stands out of his preface like an unexplained sore thumb.¹⁷

It seems to me that Ælfric's preface provides corroborating evidence for the presence of Iorwerth at Winchester in Æthelwold's time. There are perhaps several further implications. Although Iorwerth was employed by the Old Minster as a schoolmaster to teach Latin grammar to the oblates, he was not a monk: his name figures nowhere in the list of Old Minster monks, covering the period from 964 to c. 1030, which is incorporated in the New Minster *Liber uitae*.¹⁸ It would be interesting to know whether it was a usual arrangement for Anglo-Saxon monasteries to employ laymen as schoolmasters; certainly Iorwerth is not an isolated example.¹⁹ It would also be interesting to know whether in his teaching Iorwerth made use of the sort of scholastic colloquy which is represented by *De raris fabulis* which I mentioned earlier: for subsequently in his own teaching career Ælfric composed a *Colloquium* to aid in the teaching of Latin, and his initiative was followed in turn by his pupil Ælfric Bata.²⁰ The lively spirit

¹⁷ This is not to suggest that Ælfric was the author of the *Altercatio* and *Responsio*: the language of the poems is far more flamboyant than anything Ælfric ever wrote, and his recorded attempts at Latin poetry are limited to six lines of rhythmical, not quantitative, verse in the form 6pp + 6pp which he included in his *Life of St. Martin*: see Walter W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900; repr. as 2 vols., 1966), 2: 312. It is more likely that the Latin poems were composed by Lantfred, since in the unique surviving manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 34) they are preceded by the rubric "uersus .L. de quodam superbo."

¹⁸ The list is printed in Walter de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (London, 1892), 22–30; for discussion, see Simon Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 26 (Copenhagen, 1996), 88–89.

¹⁹ Another example is the (otherwise unknown) tenth-century grammarian Æthelstan, a list of whose schoolbooks survives: Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," 50–52.

²⁰ See *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen & Co., 1947); *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. S. Gwara, trans. D. W. Porter (Woodbridge, 1997).

of these colloquies may owe something to the *Altercatio* and *Responsio* which were engendered by Iorwerth's teaching. In any case, it is possible to form a clearer picture of the context in which Ælfric received his early Latin training than is implied by the simple statement *in scola Aðeluuoldi*.

POSTSCRIPT

In the preface to his translation of Genesis, Ælfric mentions a former teacher (*magister*) who could understand some Latin, but who failed to grasp the implications of the biblical text: see discussion by M. Griffith, "How much Latin did Ælfric's *Magister* Know?", *Notes and Queries* 244 (1999): 176–81. It is possible that this *magister* is identical with Iorwerth, but there is no decisive evidence in support of the identification. Another problem which has come to bedevil the study of Ælfric is the answer "Dunstan" given in Ælfric's *Grammar* to the questions "Who taught you?" and "Who ordained you [as monk]?" (ed. Zupitza, 8). Some scholars have wondered, in light of these answers, whether Ælfric might have also been taught and ordained by Dunstan (see Law, "Ælfric's *Excerptiones*," 202). But the chronology of Dunstan's career as archbishop of Canterbury rules out such a possibility: when Ælfric was a child, Dunstan was already archbishop (959–88), and archbishops do not have time to teach Latin to children. The correct solution to this problem is that Ælfric was simply repeating grammatical examples he had learned in the school of Æthelwold, who *was* taught and ordained by Dunstan: see H. Gneuss, *Ælfric von Eynsham und seine Zeit* (Munich, 2002), 12 n. 10 (reporting the opinion of Mechthild Gretsch).

ANDY ORCHARD

On Editing Wulfstan

IN THE FIFTY YEARS OR SO since the combined activities of Karl Jost, Dorothy Whitelock, Dorothy Bethurum, and Angus McIntosh shed a penetrating light on the writings of Archbishop Wulfstan II of York (who died in 1023) as homilist, legislator, polemicist, political theorist, and even (perhaps) poet, there has been an unfortunate but steady waning in scholarly interest.¹ The sheer volume of work devoted to the study of Wulfstan's contemporary, Ælfric, over the same period is, by comparison, simply staggering.² Yet recent years have seen signs of a much-needed revival

¹ The development of Wulfstan studies can largely be traced through the works of these scholars as follows: Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (London, 1939; 3rd ed. London, 1963); eadem, "Wulfstan and the so-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum", *English Historical Review* 56 (1941): 1–21; eadem, "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 24 (1942): 25–45; Dorothy Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 57 (1942): 916–29; Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut", *English Historical Review* 63 (1948): 433–52; Angus McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 35 (1949): 109–42; Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, *Swiss Studies in English* 23 (Bern, 1950); Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws", *English Historical Review* 70 (1955): 72–85; Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957); Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan at York," in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun*, ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., and Robert P. Creed (New York, 1965), 214–31; Dorothy Bethurum, "Wulfstan," in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London, 1966), 210–46.

² For a sense of the (continuing) explosion of interest in Ælfric, see, for example, Luke Reinsma, *Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York and London, 1987); Aaron Kleist, "An Annotated Ælfrician Bibliography, 1983–1996," in *Basic Readings in Old English Prose*, ed. P. E. Szarmach et al. (London, 2000).

in Wulfstan studies, and recent work has tended to reassert his importance as a key figure in the study of both the literature and history of Anglo-Saxon England.³

It is, perhaps, the very eclecticism of Wulfstan's activities that has discouraged closer interest, for to appreciate the full range of Wulfstan's writings one must consult a sometimes baffling array of editions of widely differing quality and editorial practice. The old editions of Arthur Napier and Felix Liebermann are in some cases still by far the best available, but need now to be supplemented by those of (amongst others) Dorothy Bethurum, Roger Fowler, Karl Jost, and James Ure.⁴ Recent scholarship has tended to stress the extent to which Wulfstan's legal and homiletic works are closely interdependent, but the former texts have largely been seen as the preserve of historians, the latter of literary scholars, with little genuine overlap of discussion.⁵ To focus on but one aspect of Wulfstan's output, Bethurum's edition of the homilies is still standard, but is neither satisfactory nor complete;⁶ and the identification and edition of Wulfstan's Latin writings (like so many Anglo-Latin texts essential for the understanding of Anglo-Saxon England) remains a task for the future.⁷

³ See in particular Jonathan Wilcox, "Wulfstan and the Twelfth Century," in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge, 2000), 83–97; idem, "The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching," in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford, 1992), 199–217; Emma Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester, ca. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990).

⁴ Arthur Napier, ed., *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien* (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a bibliographical appendix by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin and Zurich, 1967); Felix Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903–1916; repr. Aalen, 1960); Bethurum, ed., *Homilies*; Roger Fowler, ed., "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor", *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1–34; Roger Fowler, ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, EETS, o.s. 266 (London, 1972); Karl Jost, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical"*, Swiss Studies in English 47 (Bern, 1959); James Ure, ed., *The Benedictine Office* (Edinburgh, 1957).

⁵ See Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*. Vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), particularly 330–45; M. K. Lawson, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut," in *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark, and Norway*, ed. Alexander Rumble (Leicester, 1994), 141–64.

⁶ See in particular Wilcox, "Dissemination," 200–1. For examples of some of the errors in Bethurum's edition, see nn. 16, 20, 33, and 37–42 below.

⁷ Much of the preliminary work towards establishing the corpus has been done by

In the relative absence of manuscript attributions connecting Wulfstan to his works, what links all these aspects of his writing (even his Latin writing) is the vexed issue of style, and here too there is wide scope for confusion.⁸ If the extent to which Wulfstan recycled and recast his own material in different contexts has become increasingly clear, there is too a growing realization that he was not the only one to do so: both his contemporaries and later authors were evidently not averse to embedding and embellishing Wulfstan's prose in their own works.⁹ Moreover, the likely identification of Wulfstan's own handwriting in a number of manuscripts so far has only served to highlight the extent to which he continually corrected and emended his own works.¹⁰ This tendency, coupled with his well-attested penchant for repeating formulaic phrases and themes, and alongside the existence of several of his works in widely variant versions, has meant that the whole issue of the comparative chronology of Wulfstan's writings is fraught with problems. Against such a complex background, one would have thought that Wulfstan would have provided a

Tom Hall and Jimmy Cross, as reported by Hall in his presentation, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Latin Sermons: An Overview of the Corpus," at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 1998.

⁸ See A. Orchard, "Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*," ASE 21 (1992): 239–64, and idem, "Oral Tradition," in *Approaches to Reading Old English Texts*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge, 1997), 101–23.

⁹ See now Donald Scragg, *Dating and Style in Old English Composite Homilies*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 9 (Cambridge, 1998).

¹⁰ For the identification of the scribal hand as that of Wulfstan, see N. Ker, "The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan," in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in the Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 315–31. The manuscripts in question are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, pt. 1 (s. xi¹), iii–xii and 1–294; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gamle Konglige Sammling 1595 4^o (s. xi¹), fols. 48r, 65v–66v, and 81r; London, British Library, Add. 38651 (s. xi^m), fols. 57–58; London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii (s. x/xi¹), fols. 31–86 and 106–150; London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i (Worcester or York, s. xi^m), fols. 70–177; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (Worcester, s. xi¹–xi^{ex}), fols. 1–118; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (Worcester or York, s. xi¹), fols. 114–179; London, British Library, Harley 55 (s. xi¹), fols. 1–4; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 (S.C. 4113) (890–7); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 402 (S.C. 4117) (Brittany, s. ix²; France, s. x); Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U109), fols. 173r–198v; York, Minster Library, Add. 1 (s. xi¹–s. xi²). Facsimiles of a number of annotations in Wulfstan's hand are found in H. R. Loyn, ed., *A Wulfstan Manuscript containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies* (British Museum Cotton Nero A.1), Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 17 (Copenhagen, 1971), both on the folios mentioned and as an Appendix.

perfect battleground in the recent controversies surrounding the philosophy and politics of editing Old English; yet in all the effusion of publication on the issue, the comparative silence on the subject of Wulfstan is deafening.¹¹ The practical and theoretical difficulty of editing Wulfstan's works may account (at least in part) for the tendency in the last thirty years instead to produce facsimile editions of individual manuscripts, as well as electronic editions and texts that allow easy and direct comparison between variant versions to be made;¹² both developments are surely welcome, and such activity is certain to increase. But we are left with the basic problem of using and interpreting ageing, eclectic, and antiquated texts: the time seems ripe for a new collected edition.¹³

To illustrate some of the issues and pitfalls surrounding the editing of Wulfstan's writings, one need only examine the shortest and (if published scholarship is any indication) least regarded of Wulfstan's so-called homilies, which I shall call *Bethurum XXI*, after the most recent edition of 1957.¹⁴ In its printed form, the text occupies just thirty-four lines (a little over 350 words), and comprises a passionate warning on the conduct of wicked rulers, which its editor describes as a "short *admonitio* in Wulfstan's most polished style", and which she dates to "late in his career".¹⁵ The text survives in three manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (s. xi^{med}), pp. 25–26 and 86–87 [= C];¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton

¹¹ See, for example, Roberta Frank, ed., *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts* (New York, 1993); D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference* (Cambridge, 1994); Fred C. Robinson, *The Editing of Old English* (Oxford, 1994).

¹² For facsimile editions, see especially Loyn, ed., *A Wulfstan Manuscript*; J. E. Cross and J. Morrish Tunberg, ed., *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Gl.kgl.sam. 1595, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 25* (Copenhagen, 1993). Electronic editions of parts of Wulfstan's extant corpus have been made available on the World Wide Web by Melissa Bernstein (www.cif.rochester.edu/~mjbernst/wulfstan/) and Joyce Lionarons (<http://webpages.ursinus.edu/~jlionarons/wulfstan/>).

¹³ I am in the process of producing just such an edition along the lines outlined below, but including fuller versions of all variant texts, which are omitted here in the interests of space.

¹⁴ *Bethurum*, ed., *Homilies*, 266–67 (with notes on pp. 364–65).

¹⁵ *Bethurum*, ed., *Homilies*, 364.

¹⁶ Ker, *A Catalogue*, no. 49; Helmut Gneuss, "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100", *ASE* 9 (1981): 1–60, no. 65; *Bethurum*, ed., *Homilies*, 276, notes the text as occurring on pp. 26 and 86; in fact, the relevant rubric is found at the bottom of p. 25, whilst the text clearly continues on to p. 87.

113 (formerly Junius 99 [S.C. 5210]; Worcester, s. xi²), fols. 90b–91b [= E];¹⁷ London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i (Worcester or York, s. xi^m), fols. 115b–116 [= I].¹⁸ It is of special interest that the text is copied twice by the same scribe in CCCC 201, particularly since the two versions (which Bethurum terms C and C¹; I have preferred to call them C¹ and C² respectively in the discussion that follows) differ significantly, both from each other and the (likewise different) versions in the other two manuscripts; the situation is therefore directly analogous to the preservation of two distinct versions of the same Old English verse *Riddle*, copied by the same scribe on fols. 108r and 122v of the Exeter Book; and the massive contrast in modern critical and editorial attitudes to these various (and variant) texts is an object lesson in the (often misleading) distinction perceived by modern readers and scholars between Old English prose and verse.¹⁹

Unfortunately, even in the case of so brief a text, Bethurum has misreported a number of readings, and in particular has badly mixed up a number of passages from the distinctive versions of the text to be found in CCCC 201, so rendering her own careful differentiation of what she terms C and C¹ utterly misleading.²⁰ Both Ian McDougall and Christine Franzen have already expressed reservations about Bethurum's reporting of glosses;²¹ in the case of Bethurum XXI, the main text, critical apparatus, punctuation, and layout (as edited) are, as we shall see, not beyond re-

¹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 331; Gneuss, "Preliminary List", no. 637.

¹⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 164; Gneuss, "Preliminary List", no. 341.

¹⁹ For a useful discussion of the different versions of *Riddle* 30, see R. M. Liuzza, "The Texts of the Old English *Riddle* 30", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 87 (1988): 1–15.

²⁰ See Appendix I, below, where Bethurum attributes variants C²2–8, which actually occur in the second version of the text (her C¹), to the first version (her C); likewise, she attributes variants C¹2–6, which actually occur in the first version of the text (her C), to the second version (her C¹). By contrast, variants C¹1, C¹7–8, C²1, and C²10–18 are correctly attributed. Similar problems arise with the minor variants listed in Bethurum's critical apparatus; in the opening lines, for example, Bethurum misattributes the forms *fandian* and *wise* (at 9–10) to the second version of the text (her C¹), rather than the first, and does the same at 17 with respect to the form *gewilde*. Other confusions in the attribution of forms are given in nn. 33 and 37–42 below.

²¹ Ian McDougall, "Some Remarks on Dorothy Bethurum's Treatment of Glosses in MS. Bodleian Hatton 113," *American Notes & Queries* 8 (1995): 3–4; Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), 32–33.

proach. Moreover, the shortcomings of the so-called 'stemmatic' editorial method espoused by Bethurum (and other Wulfstan scholars), with its insistence on an 'original' text which must be reconstructed from the deconstructed efforts of successive (and more or less destructive) scribes, are self-evident on closer examination: in presenting her text of this "*admonitio*", Bethurum essentially produces a chimera which not only does not match what is found in any surviving manuscript, but relegates to the critical apparatus material which has at least as strong a claim to authenticity as what is printed as main text, with the result that such material has generally fallen outside the purview of subsequent ancillary and dependent scholarship.²²

So, for example, the addition to the rubric in Cotton Nero A. i (GYME SE ðE WILLE) is not merely characteristic of Wulfstan's style,²³ but (it appears) is actually added by his own hand;²⁴ moreover, the second version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201 (Bethurum's C¹, my C²) continues where the other versions break off, and concludes with a passage that can be paralleled almost verbatim from the law code VIII Æthelred 36, the association of which with Wulfstan has long been recognised.²⁵ Given the manuscript context of this second version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201, which is immediately followed by a cluster of legalistic material, including VIII Æthelred itself,²⁶ such an addition is surely eminently understandable, and (as we shall see) the adaptation of material to fit its manuscript context is quite in keeping with what one finds elsewhere in Old English literature, not only in verse, but also in prose.²⁷ In fact, the

²² Most notably the ongoing *Toronto Dictionary of Old English*, which in general restricts itself to the main texts of the most recent editions, without recourse to the critical apparatus.

²³ See Appendix II below, at 5.

²⁴ Ker, "Handwriting," 322.

²⁵ Patrick Wormald, "Æthelred the Lawmaker," in *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. David Hill, BAR British Series 59 (Oxford, 1978), 47–80, here 59–60; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 208–9.

²⁶ The parallel passage from VIII Æthelred 36 occurs on p. 95, ll. 31–34 of CCCC 201, and differs from that printed below as C²10–18 only in the first and lines, which read *And wise wæran worldwitan* and *gewildan to riht* (Liebermann prints *rihte*); in place of the *world-* form of C²12, the parallel passage has *worold-*.

²⁷ See, for example, the arguments of Douglas Moffat, "Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Old English Verse," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 805–27. A further case for the adaptation of the same text in two places in the same manuscript has recently been made by Samantha

first version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201 (her C, my C¹) is found in a cluster of 'homiletic' material, sandwiched between four Napier homilies (with Napier XXIII and Napier XXVII preceding, and Napier XXXV and XXXVIII following),²⁸ but more importantly presented not as a separate work, but rather as the opening lines to what Bethurum prints separately as her homily XIX. Although Bethurum evidently considered the four Napier homilies as spurious, Jonathan Wilcox has recently argued that the first three are certainly by Wulfstan, and the fourth may be.²⁹ The immediate context of the second version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201 (her C¹, my C²) is somewhat different; there, the text is preceded by a number of homilies (most immediately by Bethurum XVIb and one version of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* [Bethurum XXI]), has the rubric *SERMO LUPI*, and is followed by a cluster of legalistic texts associated with Wulfstan, namely *Institutes of Polity* I.1-5 and 16-128, VIII Æthelred, I Edmund, *Canons of Edgar*, *Gebyncðu*, *Norðleoda laga*, *Mircna laga*, *Að*, and *Hadbot*. The manuscript context of Bethurum XXI in Cotton Nero A. i is somewhat similar to that in CCC 201, with the text being preceded by *Institutes of Polity* II.41-57 and a version of Bethurum XX, and followed by the law code V Æthelred and *Institutes of Polity* II.1-9.³⁰ CCCC 201 therefore exemplifies precisely the overlapping links between Wulfstan's homiletic and legal writings, comprising as it does an interleaved combination of both types of text, and apparently with both versions of Bethurum XXI appropriately integrated into their surrounding manuscript context.³¹ In Hatton 113 (E), by contrast, the immediate setting of Bethurum XXI is resolutely homiletic: the text is preceded by part of Napier XXXVII and by

Zacher, "Shared Passages in Vercelli Homilies II and XXI: Artless Adoption or Artful Adaptation?" (forthcoming). I am grateful to Ms. Zacher for permitting me to read the paper prior to publication.

²⁸ The extent to which this version of Bethurum XXI has been integrated into its manuscript context can to some degree be measured by the fact that its rubric, *To eallum folce*, is the last in a sequence of rubrics all reading *To folce* or *To eallum folce*; see Ker, *Catalogue*, 84.

²⁹ Wilcox, "Dissemination," 200.

³⁰ See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 200-1, for a useful table summarising the contents of Cotton Nero A.i.

³¹ See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 204-5, for a useful table summarising the contents of CCCC 201.

a version of Bethurum XX, and followed by Napier XXXV and the rest of Napier XXXVII.³²

I print below as Appendix I a simplified version of the text as it appears in Cotton Nero A. i (I), with significant additions, omissions, and variants listed separately; the vast majority of remaining variants can be summarized succinctly. The text in Hatton 113 (E) is characterized chiefly by a number of minor (but generally consistent) spelling variants with respect to I, notably *woruld-* for *worold-* at 11, 19, 29, 33, 48, 59, 82, and 96;³³ *-i-* for *-y-* at 58 and 64; *-y-* for *-i-* at 69 (*wærscipes*) and 70; *swytol* for *swutol* at 15; *unweorðige* for *unweorðie* at 30; *hyrwede* for *hyrwe* at 43. Such variants can easily be paralleled with respect to others of Wulfstan's works preserved in E, and simply reflect the habitual usage of that scribe.³⁴ Other variants in the E-text of Bethurum XXI include the substitution of one particle or preposition for another (*on* for *for* at 29; *þæt* for *þe* at 41), and the (occasional) omission of two-stress phrases (5 and 66–67);³⁵ again, comparison with others of Wulfstan's works as preserved in E is instructive.³⁶ Likewise, the predominant spelling habits of the scribe of C are evident in a number of usages where C¹C² agree against EI, notably *-ænd-* for *-end-* in *scendan* (23) and *gewende* (52), *drihtene* for *drihtne* (53), *-ost* for *-ast* (27), *(-)wurð-* for *(-)weorð-* (30, 60, and 90), *-i-* for *-y-* (18, 19, 22 [twice], 25, 27, 29, 30, 39 [þi], 45, 78, and 92),³⁷ *swið-* for *swyþ-*

³² Note that Wilcox, "Dissemination," 200, reckons Napier XXXV to be a genuine Wulfstan text.

³³ Bethurum incorrectly notes the retention in E of the form *worold-* at 48, but the manuscript clearly reads *woruldscame*.

³⁴ See, for example, the critical apparatus to the version of Bethurum XX preserved in EI: Bethurum, ed., *Homilies*, 267–75, *passim*.

³⁵ But note that at 5 the phrase has been added to I later, apparently by Wulfstan himself.

³⁶ Again, analysis of the critical apparatus to the version of Bethurum XX preserved in EI, Bethurum, ed., *Homilies*, 267–75 is revealing: whereas substitution of particles or prepositions does take place, it is interesting to note that the version of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* in E is characterised above all by the addition of two-stress phrases to the text as found in I; see esp. ll. 9, 34, 40, 70, 94, 123, 161, 162, 163, 165, 180, 182, and 188. In the case of the only significant phrases in I not attested in E, at ll. 74 and 85, it is interesting to note that the phrases in question have been crossed out or otherwise marked for deletion.

³⁷ Exceptions to this trend are *hyrwe* in C² (incorrectly reported by Bethurum) at 43, *hit* and *micele* in E at 58 and 64, *-scipes* in I at 69 and 70, and *synna* in C² at 85; see too *onhysce* in EI at 28, as against *onhysce* (C¹) and *onhysce* (C²) (both incorrectly reported by Bethurum).

(22, 29, and 45),³⁸ and *-on(-)* for *-an(-)* (7, 23, 52, 56, 71, and 88).³⁹ One variant where C¹C² generally agree, and E and I differ has already been noted: both texts in Corpus 201 tend to have *world-*, where E has *woruld-* and I *worold-* (11, 19, 29, 48, 59, and 96).⁴⁰ On five occasions C² has *-a* where all three other texts agree in having *-e* (33, 50, 89, and 95 [twice]).⁴¹ Again, the level of consistency of spelling in both versions of the text in CCC 201 seems relatively high (the more so when compared to the accuracy of the modern edition), and suggests carefulness in copying, rather than carelessness.

The division of the text into predominantly two-stress phrases in Appendix I is determined according to the principles laid down by McIntosh, and followed, for example, by Jost in his edition of the *Institutes of Polity*.⁴² Despite the objections of (amongst others) Whitelock to such a layout,⁴³ it is abundantly clear that the manuscript punctuation of Bethurum XXI in all four versions supports just such an arrangement, which, moreover, greatly facilitates closer analysis of the text. Even though the style and frequency of punctuation varies between manuscripts, some form of pointing is commonly found at the end of such two-stress phrases, as McIntosh pointed out long ago with regard to essentially the same set of manuscripts,⁴⁴ and only rarely does pointing occur within the two-stress

³⁸ The exception to this trend is *swiþost* in C¹ at 27 (incorrectly reported by Bethurum).

³⁹ Exceptions to this trend are *lufedon* in I at 57, *heonanforð* in C² at 9, and *utan* in C¹ at 87 (both incorrectly reported by Bethurum).

⁴⁰ The exception to this trend is *woroldlicre* in C¹ at 82 (incorrectly reported by Bethurum).

⁴¹ All five examples are incorrectly reported by Bethurum.

⁴² See n. 4 above.

⁴³ Dorothy Whitelock voices her objections in the course of her detailed review of Jost's edition in *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 12 (1961): 61–66, at 66, where she claims that: "to stress in accordance with McIntosh's theory does violence to the natural emphasis, and there are places in [Jost's] own edition where the arrangement as verse is difficult, and at times it breaks down altogether. While it is undoubted that Wulfstan usually uses short syntactical phrases containing two stresses, the printing of these as verse lines tends to obscure the subtler rhythms and distract attention from the building up of his periods. Yet this is a personal opinion which others may not share."

⁴⁴ McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 25–26, contains an analysis of manuscript pointing of one section of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Bethurum XX), which is, of course, found preceding Bethurum XXI in three of the four versions of that text considered here; McIntosh's analysis also includes two other witnesses to Bethurum XX, namely Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 (B) and Oxford, Bodleian Library 343 (H). In the five

phrase. Of the ninety-six such phrases attested in I, some form of pointing occurs by my reckoning at the end of sixty-seven of them (= 69.8 per cent), but only five times within the phrase. The comparative figures for the first version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201 (her C, my C¹) are sixty-six end-points in ninety-five phrases (= 69.5 per cent), with two examples of medial pointing; for the second version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201 (my C², Bethurum's C¹), eighty-six end-points in 103 phrases (= 83.5 per cent), with three examples of medial pointing; for E, fifty end-points in ninety-two phrases (= 54.3 per cent), with two examples of medial pointing.

The text in Cotton Nero A. i (I) exhibits by far the most elaborate system of pointing, and is therefore perhaps most in need of more detailed analysis; Bethurum's assessment of the manuscript, moreover, that although originally rather carelessly written, "it provides a more authoritative text of the homilies it contains than do any of the other manuscripts",⁴⁵ seems supported by the fact that the manuscript has evidently undergone extensive revision. Apparently incomplete words and phrases have been filled out, generally above the line ('gyt' at 1; w'e' at 9; 'for gode' at 59; 'soð' at 68; 'sy' at 94); misconstrued forms have been corrected (*herede* at 41 has been altered from *hereð*); the entire phrase *gewunede . . . leogan* (54–55) is written over an erasure that evidently hides a rather longer phrase (presumably similar to that preserved in C¹5–6 or C²6–7?). Moreover, the fact that Wulfstan himself appears to have annotated the text is particularly interesting given the way in which he can be shown to have punctuated his own material elsewhere;⁴⁶ as Ker notes: "[s]entences written by Wulfstan are amply punctuated by means of the punctus versus (;) at the end of the sentence and either a simple point (.)

manuscripts taken as a whole, points mark the ends of thirty-five out of forty (= 87.5 per cent) two-stress phrases discerned by McIntosh, whereas only six such points occurred in the middle of such phrases, always immediately preceding a tironian *et* linking the two elements of a doublet. While the cumulative percentage of phrases concluding with a manuscript point is high, it is important to note that the figures for individual manuscripts are (as in the case of Bethurum XXI) rather lower: B has pointing at the end of twenty-five out of the thirty-four phrases attested (= 73.5 per cent); C: twenty-six out of thirty-four (= 76.5 per cent); E: twenty-six out of forty (= 66 per cent); I: thirty out of forty (= 75 per cent); and H: twenty out of thirty-four (= 58.8 per cent)

⁴⁵ Cf. Bethurum, ed., *Homilies*, 6.

⁴⁶ An excellent example is found on fol. 66v of Copenhagen GKS 1595 (on which see above, n. 12, and 323–25).

or the punctus elevatus (˙) within the sentence.”⁴⁷ Of the five points (all of the simple type ‘.’) which occur in the middle of these artificial two-stress phrase-divisions (14, 22, 63, 88, and 90), all but one (at 63) coincide with the end of the manuscript line, where perhaps a point might be inserted by a scribe in mid-thought; by contrast, however, one might have expected some kind of pointing at the end of five further two-stress phrases which finish at the end of a manuscript line (11, 26, 50 [also the end of a page], 63, and 65): at all events, pointing, phrase-ending, and the end of the manuscript line all do coincide in seven instances at 5, 9, 34, 38, 56, 59, and 86.

That such two-stress phrases lie at the heart of Wulfstan’s compositional technique can be further demonstrated by a comparison of parallel phrasing in extant Old English. Bethurum notes that lines 15–18 of her text appear to draw on a brief passage from the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Bethurum XX), but gives a reference to only one version of that text, without noting that in fact the passage in question not only is preserved in all three versions of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (as she edits the text), but also that Bethurum XX immediately precedes Bethurum XXI in all three extant manuscripts (and in three of the four extant versions).⁴⁸ The tissue of verbal parallels that links Bethurum XXI with others of Wulfstan’s works is in fact far more complex, as Appendix II below indicates. The list of parallels given in Appendix II is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather representative, and to offer some indication of the extent to which the diction of Bethurum XXI can be matched elsewhere in a range of texts either composed by or closely associated with Wulfstan. Nonetheless, it is still surely striking that more than two-thirds of the (predominantly) two-stress phrases identified in Bethurum XXI can be paralleled in such a way. The distribution of such parallels again underlines the textual affiliations of Bethurum XXI: although (perhaps unsurprisingly) the other Bethurum homilies are well represented, particular associations are revealed not only with the three versions of Bethurum XX, forms of which precede Bethurum XXI in all three manuscripts (5–6, 11, 14–16, 22, 24, 33, 35, 40,

⁴⁷ Ker, “Handwriting,” 318.

⁴⁸ The same parallel is noted as a direct source (the only such source indicated) by Stephanie Hollis, citing Bethurum, in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database as found on the World Wide Web at <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>.

46, 48, 50, 78, 87, and 89),⁴⁹ but also with Bethurum Xc (6, 13, 17, 28, and 74) and Bethurum XIII (6-7, 14, 74, 75, and 87-88). No fewer than twenty Napier homilies are represented: I (24 and 89), XIX (6), XXV (6 and 13), XXVII (6, 14, 67, and 87), XXX (10, 13, 24, 74, and 87), XXXV (89), XXXVII (6 and 13), XL (6, 87, and 89), XLI (5), XLII (6 and 89), XLIII (6 and 75), XLVII (6 and 15), L (11, 17, 40, 67, 69, 71, 75, 78, 82, 87, 90, and C¹8), LI (6 and 11), LII (12), LV (6), LVII (6 and 75-76), LIX (6 and C¹8), LX (11), and LXI (82). Of these, ten have been argued to have been composed by Wulfstan (Napier I, XXV, XXVII, XXXV, L, LI, LII, LIX, LX, and LXI);⁵⁰ seven have been argued to contain borrowings from Wulfstan (Napier XXX, XL, XLII, XLIII, XLVII, LV, and LVII);⁵¹ and only three (Napier XIX, XXXVII, and XLI) are currently seen as having no direct link to Wulfstan beyond that implicit in the selection of Napier's texts.⁵² Particularly noteworthy are the sheer number of verbal parallels with Napier L, although in only one case (69) is the phrase in question uniquely shared with Bethurum XXI. Likewise striking is the extent to which the diction of Bethurum XXI matches that of one or other of the many texts (and versions of texts) edited by Jost under the collective title of the *Institutes of Polity*.⁵³ I note some twenty-two separate examples of parallel phrasing shared between Bethurum XXI and one or other of the parts of the *Institutes of Polity*, appearing in clusters throughout the text (5-6, 8, 11-13, 17, 20, 24, 32, 35, 71, 74-75, 82, 84, 87, 89-91, 93, and 95). Again, the fact that parts of the *Institutes of Polity* actually appear in close proximity to Bethurum XXI in two of the three manuscripts containing the text is surely significant. Other noteworthy overlapping of phrasing with Bethurum XXI occurs with regard to sundry law codes and legal texts (at 4-5, 13-14, 19, 32-33, 35, 44, 57, 71, 74, 78-80, 82, 87, 89, C¹8, and C²10-18), various charters (at 11, 53, 71, and 91), and even specific versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and

⁴⁹ For the sake of simplicity, in what follows I restrict my analysis to the ninety-six predominantly two-stress phrases of the version of Bethurum XXI in Cotton Nero A. i (as printed in Appendix I), except where noted.

⁵⁰ Wilcox, "Dissemination," 200-1.

⁵¹ Wilcox, "Dissemination," 200-1.

⁵² It is worth noting that in none of these last three cases is the phrase in question uniquely shared with Bethurum XXI.

⁵³ For the edition, see n. 4 above; Whitelock's important review is noted above, n. 44.

associated texts (11, 39, and especially C¹2-3). The precise significance of such parallels must await a fuller edition of all the texts; their distribution, particularly with regard to the larger variants, seems particularly revealing with regard to the way in which the text has been altered in transmission.⁵⁴ Likewise, the identification of parallels can shed light on certain obscurities of the text, such as the otherwise unattested form *leadan* (56), apparently a weak form of the perfect of the verb *lean* ('to blame'), to judge by the parallel phrasing found elsewhere in the extant corpus.⁵⁵ Special mention in this context might also be made of the longest extant piece apparently written in Wulfstan's own hand, and found on fol. 66v of Copenhagen GKS 1595.⁵⁶ Although brief, the text (or perhaps better texts, since the piece was evidently written at more than one sitting)⁵⁷ contains several verbal parallels with Bethurum XXI,⁵⁸ is generously pointed, and divides easily into pairs of end-rhymed mostly two-stress phrases, sporadically ornamented by alliteration and the repetition of key words. It is hard to date such jottings, but they surely come from the same period (and the same impulse) that caused Wulfstan to produce Bethurum XXI: an edition which would incorporate both texts is surely required.

Division of the texts into predominantly two-stress phrases, as sanctioned both by manuscript punctuation and the identification of parallel phrasing elsewhere in works associated with Wulfstan, allows detailed analysis of the structure of Bethurum XXI in each of its variant versions. It is clear that the piece shows a careful concern for structure, balance, and echo to an extent that is often obscured in Wulfstan's edited homi-

⁵⁴ It should be pointed out that (so far) no significant Latin source or analogue has been identified for Bethurum XXI, but such an identification would radically affect the interpretation of the parallels shown. On Wulfstan's use of Latin source-material, see now J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, ed., *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, Anglo-Saxon Texts 1 (Cambridge, 1999).

⁵⁵ I am grateful to David and Ian McDougall for their help in identifying this form.

⁵⁶ For a facsimile of the passage, see n. 12 above. The text offered by Ker, "Handwriting," 320, supersedes that produced by Holthausen in 1890, and includes a smaller-scale facsimile as plate VII.

⁵⁷ Cf. the comments of Ker, who notes that: "The writing and spacing suggest that the original passage . . . was added to on three or four occasions" ("Handwriting," 320).

⁵⁸ So, for example, one finds the phrases *for gode 7 for worolde* (cf. 11, 59, and 96), *geomlice smeagean* (cf. 93), and *þe godcunde lare* (cf. 32), all in a text of little over 150 words.

lies.⁵⁹ A predominant theme of the piece is the contrast between secular and spiritual values, encapsulated in the phrase *for gode 7 for worolde* ('in God's eyes and the world's'), and stressed through patterned repetition of the phrase at the beginning, middle, and end of the text (at 11, 59, and 96); the same technique of patterned repetition is used in the final sentence (87–96) to highlight the "necessity" (*bearf*, at 87, 91, and 95) for change, a need further highlighted by the fact that the word in question (*bearf*) appears in the piece elsewhere only at the very beginning of the text (at 4 and 8), so providing a form of "envelope-pattern" for the text as a whole.⁶⁰ Other sequences of verbal parallels and contrasts only highlight the artistry and balance of the piece as a whole; so, for example, one might point to the chiasmic sequences *unrihte . . . rihte . . . riht . . . unriht* ("wrong . . . right . . . right . . . wrong", at 13–14 and 37–38) and *herede . . . hyrwan . . . hyrwe . . . herian* ("praise . . . despise . . . despise . . . praise", at 41–44).⁶¹ In the text as punctuated in Cotton Nero A. i, in which the punctus versus (;), the heaviest mark of punctuation employed, is followed by capital letters to break the piece down into eight sections (1–5; 6–23; 24–38; 39–46; 47–62; 63–71; 72–86; 87–96), it is striking that five of those eight sections should begin with anaphoric repetition of *Ac* (at 24, 39, 47, 63, and 87),⁶² in a fashion reminiscent of the technique known in vernacular verse as 'incremental repetition'.⁶³ Likewise remarkable is

⁵⁹ Previous attempts to discern structure in Wulfstan's writings have largely been restricted to analyses of various versions of Bethurum XX, the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. See, for example, Stephanie Hollis, "The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi*," ASE 6 (1977): 175–97.

⁶⁰ On the envelope-pattern in Old English, see, for example, Adeline Courtney Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, 1935), 9–29; John D. Niles, *Beowulf: The Poem and its Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 152–62.

⁶¹ Though the pattern evidently simply confused the scribe at C²⁴; he simply repeated 44.

⁶² It might be noted that the only other example of the word *ac* in the entire piece (at 69) is likewise preceded by a punctus versus, this time without a following capital letter. At the same point in C², however, *Ac* is capitalized (preceded by a simple point), while in E uncanceled *ac* is preceded by one of only two examples of a punctus subversus in the text (the other is at the end of 15); there are no examples of a punctus versus in E.

⁶³ The term is borrowed from vernacular Welsh poetry; the standard study remains Kenneth Jackson, "Incremental Repetition in the Early Welsh *Englyn*," *Speculum* 16 (1943): 304–21. For a discussion of the feature in Old English, see Bartlett, *Larger Rhetorical Patterns*, 30–61 (for the poetry); Orchard, "Oral Tradition," 102 (for an example from Alfred's *Preface* to his translation of the *Pastoral Care*).

the extent to which these self-contained phrases rhyme, albeit on a limited range of endings (predominantly *-e* and *-an* or *-on*): it is surely no coincidence that after a fairly standard introductory formula (at 6–8), end-rhyme should be a fairly constant feature throughout the whole of the rest of the text; such end-rhyme is even evident in the rubric of I (at 2–5), and there is occasional rhyme within the individual phrases (as at 4, 11–12, 34, 54–55, and 96).⁶⁴ Striking confirmation that such rhyme was recognised as a deliberate embellishment is surely offered by the fact that many of the self-contained phrases found only in one or other of the versions of the text seem to fit the rhyme-scheme of the context into which they are apparently inserted (see, for example, C¹8, C²2–3, and C²8). Awareness of the dominant rhyme-scheme at a particular point in the text seems occasionally to have influenced the choice of scribal spellings, particularly with regard to the choice of endings in *-on* or *-an*.⁶⁵ Other kinds of sound-play include the artful employment of alliteration, in a way which can be paralleled not only in Wulfstan's works, but also elsewhere in extant Old English prose;⁶⁶ notable sequences include 10–12, 31–38, 39–46, 55–57, and 59–62.

The appropriateness of the longest addition to the piece (C²10–18) has already been noted on the basis of its immediate manuscript context, effectively linking this piece to the more legalistic texts which follow, from one of which indeed this text apparently borrows.⁶⁷ But the language and style of the addition are also perfectly tailored, echoing in matching rhyming and rhythmical prose the contrast between secular and religious

⁶⁴ One wonders whether the taste for such aural repetition has led the scribe of I to produce the sequence *gode syngode* at 21–2 (and note that *syngode* is followed by a rare medial point, often used to indicate end-rhyme at the end of phrases); the other three versions agree in supplying a plural verb at this point.

⁶⁵ See above, 319.

⁶⁶ See further Andy Orchard, "Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story," *Anglia* 113 (1995): 429–63.

⁶⁷ See above, 316–17. One could make the same point about the first version of Bethurum XXI in CCCC 201 (my C¹), since the beginning of Bethurum XIX, which follows immediately in the manuscript without any break, deals with the theme of what awaits those who have loved God and kept his laws, by contrast with those who have angered God and broken his laws (see Bethurum, ed., *Homilies*, 251); such a theme effectively summarises the whole argument of Bethurum XXI, and it is surely striking how well both versions of the text in CCCC 201 have been adapted to fit their immediate manuscript context.

authority, emphasised at its heart by the alliterative (and rhyming) doublet *7 criste 7 cyninge*, which is itself foreshadowed by a brief series of compounds (*worldwitan . . . godcundan rihtlagan worldlaga*) all emphasising the same broad theme.⁶⁸ Likewise, the theme of chastisement and governance, highlighted in the main text through both verbal repetition (*woroldlice styrde . . . swyðast to steore . . . mid woroldlicre steore* [19, 27, and 82]) and sound-play (*7 to hwon wylde 7 woroldlice styrde* [18–19]), is picked up in the addition by verbal echo (*folce to steore . . . gewildan to rihte* [C²13 and C²18]). The emphasis on the need for such action, underlined again in the main text by patterned verbal repetition in the title (*ÐEODE TO DEARFE* [4]), the opening sentence (*ealswa us þearf is* [8]), and (most emphatically) at the beginning, middle, and end of the closing sentence (*Ac utan don swa us þearf is . . . to gemænelicam þearfan . . . 7 ealre þeode þearf sy* [87, 91, and 95]) is apparently further alluded to in the penultimate phrase of the addition (*manega for neode* [C²17]). It would be quite wrong, then, to characterize such an addition as a whimsical afterthought on the part of a careless scribe; rather, it is a thoughtful and carefully crafted piece which echoes and develops themes and rhetorical techniques of the text as a whole, and which has a good claim to authenticity.

The various (and variant) versions of *Bethurum XXI* offer a challenge to modern readers and editors who would seek (and have sought) to separate them from their immediate manuscript context, their shared phrasing with other works associated with *Wulfstan*, and, ultimately, even from themselves. Half a century and more of sporadic study has made it abundantly clear that both *Wulfstan* himself and other Anglo-Saxon authors loved to tinker with his prose, evidently with more pleasure and passion than he managed to raise among a more modern readership. But to read and edit *Wulfstan* is to appreciate the value of works in progress, of works unfinished and amalgamated, works (and words) that have passed through several ears and eyes and mouths and hands. The same is doubtless true of most surviving Old English literature, and such a feature helps explain why successive generations of students and scholars of Anglo-Saxon Eng-

⁶⁸ Such a contrast is, interestingly enough, a recurrent theme in literature associated with the court of King Canute; see further Andy Orchard, "The Literary Background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001): 156–83.

land have felt the need to edit and re-edit the same texts to meet their changing needs.

Even from this brief analysis of some of the pitfalls facing any would-be editor of even the most minor of Wulfstan's surviving works, it will be clear that with a different and more manuscript-centred approach such as that outlined above there remains huge potential for an increased understanding not only of Wulfstan's methods and intentions both in the composition of his works and in their complex inter-relationships, but also of the manner of the transmission and reception of those texts by contemporary and later readers. If the challenge of editing Wulfstan is not to be underestimated, the as yet untapped potential benefits of closer analysis along the lines suggested surely invite just such an undertaking, and soon.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ I am grateful to David and Ian McDougall, Clare Orchard, and Samantha Zacher for their help in the writing of this paper.

APPENDIX I

BETHURUM XXI: TEXT AND LITERAL TRANSLATION
AFTER BL COTTON NERO A. I (= I), FOLS. 115V-116R

1	HER IS 'gyt'	Here is another
2	RIHTLIC WARNUNG ˚	proper warning
3	& SOÐLIC MYNGUNG	and true caution
4	ÐEODE TO ÐEARFE ;	as is necessary for the nation;
5	'GYME SE ÐE WILLE' ;	let him take heed who will.
6	LEOFAN MEN .	Dear people
7	Utan understandan	let us understand
8	ealswa us þearf is .	as is necessary for us
9	þæt w'e' heonanforð fadian .	so that we henceforth put in order
10	symle ure wisan	at all times our affairs
11	for gode 7 for worolde	in God's eyes and the world's
12	wislice 7 wærlice .	wisely and carefully
13	7 fram unrihte	and from wrong
14	gebugan . to rihte .	turn to right
15	forþam hit is swutol 7 gesyne	for it is clear and evident
16	þæt man þæs latode	that one has been slack about that
17	ealles to lange .	all too long
18	7 to hwon wylde	and too little controlled
19	7 woroldlice styrde	and in the eyes of the world restrained
20	swa swa man scolde .	just as one ought
21	þam þe oftost for gode	for those who most often in God's eyes
22	syngode . swyþe .	have sinned greatly
23	7 scendan þas þeode ;	and harmed this nation.
24	Ac soð is þæt ic secge .	But it is true what I say
25	gyme se þe wille .	let him take heed who will
26	þæt mæg on þeode	that it may be in this nation
27	swyþast to steore .	mostly for chastisement
28	þæt man þa onhisce	that they are reviled
29	swyþe for worolde .	greatly in the world
30	7 hy unweorðie	and paid no honour
31	æghwar on lande ˚	anywhere in the land,

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 32 þa þe godcunde lare . | those who God's teachings |
| 33 7 woroldcunde rihtlage . | and worldly laws |
| 34 wyrðan 7 scyrdan . | reduce and diminish |
| 35 on ænige wisan . | in any way |
| 36 7 þurh þæt man sceal
gewunian . | and through that it shall be ensured |
| 37 þæt man riht healde . | that right is upheld |
| 38 7 unriht alæte ; | and wrong is renounced. |
| 39 Ac þy hit is þe wyrse . | And therefore it is the worse |
| 40 wide on earde . | widely in the country |
| 41 þe man oft herede | that it has often been praised |
| 42 þæt man scolde hyrwan . | what should be despised |
| 43 7 to forð hyrwe | and despised too much |
| 44 þæt man scolde herian ; | what should be praised |
| 45 7 laðette to swyþe | and hated too much |
| 46 þæt man scolde lufian ; | what should be loved. |
| 47 Ac hwilum þa hit god wæs . | And once in the good old days |
| 48 eal he wearð to woroldscame . | he was entirely disdained |
| 49 se þe stod on mane . | who was caught in crime |
| 50 7 on misdæde [116r] | and in wrongdoing |
| 51 ænige hwile . | at any time |
| 52 butan he gewende | unless he turned |
| 53 þe raþor to his drihtne ˆ | the more swiftly to his lord; |
| 54 7 se þe gewunede | and he who was accustomed |
| 55 þæt he wolde leogan . | to telling lies |
| 56 ealle hine leadan . | they all blamed him |
| 57 þa þe god lufedon ˆ | those who loved God; |
| 58 7 þa hyt wæs on þeode . | and then it was in the nation |
| 59 'for gode' 7 for worolde . | in God's eyes and the world's |
| 60 wislic 7 weorðlic . | wise and honourable |
| 61 þa man riht lufode . | when right was loved |
| 62 7 unriht ascunode ; | and wrong detested. |
| 63 Ac nu þincð . þe wærra | But now he seems the more cunning |
| 64 7 mycele þe snotera ˆ | and much the cleverer |
| 65 se ðe can mid leasungan | who can with lies |

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 66 wæwerdlice werian ˘ | successfully survive; |
| 67 7 mid unsoðe . | and with untruth |
| 68 'soð' oferswiðan ˘ | overcome truth |
| 69 ac wa him þæs wærscipes . | but woe to him for that cunning |
| 70 7 ealles þæs weorðscipes . | and all that honour |
| 71 butan he geswice ; | unless he desist. |
| | |
| 72 La riht is þæt we lufian | Lo it is right that we should love |
| 73 þa þe god lufian . | those who love God |
| 74 7 hetelice ascunian | and detest with loathing |
| 75 þa þe god græmian ˘ | those who anger God; |
| 76 7 nænne gemanan | and no association |
| 77 ær wið þa habban . | should we have with them |
| 78 ær þam þe hy gebugan . | before they submit |
| 79 7 geornlice betan . | and eagerly improve. |
| 80 7 se ðe þæt nelle . | And he who will not [do] that |
| 81 ehte we his ealle . | let us all persecute him |
| 82 mid woroldlicre steore . | with worldly restraint |
| 83 þe læs þe we habban | lest we have |
| 84 ænigne gemanan . | any association |
| 85 nu heora synna ˘ | now with their sins |
| 86 7 eft heora wita ; | and afterwards with their punishments. |
| | |
| 87 Ac utan don swa us þearf is . | And let us do as is necessary for us: |
| 88 utan god . gladian . | let us please God |
| 89 7 godes lage healdan . | and maintain God's laws |
| 90 7 anræde . weorðan | and become resolute |
| 91 to gemænelican þearfan ˘ | with regard to common needs; |
| 92 7 gyt hertoeacan | and in addition to this |
| 93 geornlice smeagan . | eagerly consider |
| 94 fela þæs þe ræd 'sy' | much that may be advisable |
| 95 7 ealre þeode þearf sy . | and may be necessary for the entire |
| | nation |
| 96 for gode 7 for worolde ; | in God's eyes and the world's. |

SIGNIFICANT ADDITIONS, OMISSIONS,
AND VARIANTS

Instead of 1-5:

C ¹ 1	TO EALLUM FOLCE	TO ALL FOLK
C ² 1	SERMO LUPI	SERMON OF WULF[STAN]

E omits 5

Between 11 and 12:

C ¹ 2	sume dæle rihtlicor	in some part more correctly
C ¹ 3	þonne we ær didon	than we did before now

Instead of 26:

C ² 2	þæt mæg be sexena ræde	that may according to the lesson of the Saxons
C ² 3	7 be heora bysne on þeode	and according to their example in this nation

Instead of 45:

C ¹ 4	7 ascunode to swiðe	and shunned too much
------------------	---------------------	----------------------

Instead of 46:

C ² 4	þæt man scolde herian	what should be praised
------------------	-----------------------	------------------------

Instead of 50 and 51:

C ² 5	7 on misdæda ænige	and in any wrongdoings
------------------	--------------------	------------------------

Instead of 54 and 55:

C ¹ 5	7 se þe wolde leogan	and he who would tell lies
C ¹ 6	oftost on his wordon	most often in his words

Or:

C ² 6	7 se þe wolde wægan	and he who would deceive
C ² 7	oftost on his wordon	most often in his words

E omits 66-67

Between 70 and 71:

C²8 þeah he swa ne wene though he should not expect so

Instead of 72:

C¹7 La leof riht is þæt we lufian Lo, dear, it is right that we should love

C²9 La leof riht is þæt we lufian Lo, dear, it is right that we should love

Instead of 89:

C¹8 7 godes lage giman and maintain God's laws

After 96:

E1 amen Amen

C²10 Wise wæron worldwitan Those great sages were wise

C²11 þe to godcundan rihtlagan who for godly legislation

C²12 worldlaga settan established worldly laws

C²13 folce to steore to chastise the people

C²14 7 criste 7 cyninge and for Christ and the king

C²15 gerehtan þa bote took care of the remedy

C²16 þar man swa scolde where there should be

C²17 manega for neode because of the need of many

C²18 gewildan to rihte correct governance.

APPENDIX II

BETHURUM XXI:

PARALLELS WITH OTHER TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH WULFSTAN

1	HER IS [gyt]	NONE
2	RIHTLIC WARNUNG	NONE
3	7 SOÐLIC MYNGUNG	NONE
4	ÐEODE TO ÐEARFE	VI Æthelred 40; II Cnut 11
5	[GYME SE ÐE WILLE]	Bethurum XI.99 and 187; XVII.14; XIX.82; XXb.11; Napier XLI.1; <i>Polity</i> I.46 (= II.63); I Cnut 26
6	Leofan men	Bethurum Ib.3; II.28 and 69; III.27 and 74; IV.3 and 37; V.8; VI.3, 21, 96, and 214; VII.3, 19, 26, 78, 88, and 104; VIIa.3 and 17; VIIIc.3, 29, 100, 116, and 156; Xc.3, 20, 39, 71, 76, 121, 141, and 196; XIII.3, 32, 42, 53; XIV.3, 46, and 53; XV.3, 13, 27, and 69; XVII.9, 63, and 74; XVIII.3, 66, 91, 108, and 124; XIX.3 and 41; XXa.3; XXb.7; XXc.7; Napier XXV.2; XXVII.2 and 28; XIX.30, 73, 97, 173, 225; XXXVII.3; XL.2 and 117; XLII.2; XLIII.81 and 109; XLVII.2 and 25; LI.2; LV.21; LVII.2; LIX.2; <i>Office</i> 8.27; <i>Polity</i> II.56, XVI.1 (twice), XIX.1, XXIII.1; <i>Be sacerdan</i> 142
7	utan understandan	Bethurum VIIIc.120; XIII.55
8	ealswa us þearf is	<i>Polity</i> I.125 (= II.231)
9	þæt we heonanforð fadian	SEE BELOW, 10
10	symle ure wisan	Napier XXX.14 (<i>ealle ure wisan rædlice fadian</i>)
11	for Gode 7 for worolde	Bethurum XXa.64; Napier XLVII.8 and 12; L.14 (twice), 54, 99, 206; LI.14 and 19; LX.6 and 28; <i>Handbook</i> 76 and 87; <i>Polity</i> I.6a, 7, 15, 34, 57; II.6a, 18, 40, 41, 85, 101, 184; VIII.4, 6; XVI.8;

- 12 wislice 7 wærlice XVIII.2; *Charter* S566.28; 914.15; ASC C 1011.28, D 959.16, 1011.29, 1019.2 Napier LII.2; *Polity* I.38, 66*, and 118; II.102 and 224
- 13 7 fram unrihte Bethurum Xc.60 and 118 (*fram yfele*); Napier XXV.57, XXX.229 (*gebuge ælc cristen man georne fram unrihte to rihte*), XXXVI.42, XXXVII.13 (*þæt man fram unrihte gebuge to rihte*); *Polity* II.167 (*and gebuge ælc man fram unrihte to rihte*); II Cnut 67 (*georne fram unrihte gecirran eft to rihte*)
- 14 gebugan to rihte Bethurum XIII.53 (*7 forbugan ælc unriht 7 gebugan georne to rihte*); XXa.119; XXb.165; XXc.190; B3.2.41/63 (*and forbugan ælc unriht and gebugan georne to rihte*); Napier XXVII.24; L.88; V Æthelred 4.1 (*to rihte gebugan*); I Cnut 6a (*to rihte gebugan*); *Norðhymbra preosta lagu* 45 (*to rihte gebugan*)
- 15 forþam hit is swutol 7 gesyne Bethurum XXa.48; XXb.61; XXc.53 (*Forðam hit is on us eallum swutol 7 gesene*); XXb.125 (*swutol 7 gesene*); XXc.126 (*swutol 7 gesæne*); Napier XLVII.3 (*hit is swutol and gesyne*)
- 16 þæt man þæs latode Bethurum XXb.121 (*þæs na ne gelatige ealles to lange*); XXc. (*þæs na ne latige ealles to lange*)
- 17 ealles to lange Bethurum Xc.81; Napier L.61 and 172; *Polity* II.91
- 18 7 to hwon wylde NONE
- 19 7 woroldlice styrde EGU Prol 2 (*woruldlice steora*)
- 20 swa swa man scolde Bethurum V.29; *Polity* I.64; II.92
- 21 þam þe oftost for Gode NONE
- 22 syngode swyþe Bethurum XXa.108; XXb.150; XXc.152
- 23 7 scendan þas þeode NONE
- 24 Ac soð is þæt ic secge Bethurum IX.143; XI.137; XVIII.74; XXa.33; XXb.39; XXc.37 and 186;

- 25 gyme se þe wille:
 26 þæt mæg on þeode
 27 swyþast to steore
 28 þæt man þa onhisce
 29 swyþe for worolde
 30 7 hy unweorðie
 31 æghwar on lande
 32 þa þe godcunde lare
 33 7 woroldcunde rihtlage
 34 wyrðan 7 scyrðan
 35 on ænige wisan;
 36 7 þurh þæt man sceal
 gewunian
 37 þæt man riht healde
 38 7 unriht alæte
 39 Ac þy hit is þe wyrse
 40 wide on earde
 41 þe man oft herede
- Napier I.76; XXX.38; XXXVII.1; Polity I.32, 39, 62; II.39, 90 (*soð is, þæt ic secge, gelyfe, se þe wille*); B13.4.13 (*Ac soð is, þæt ic secge, gecnawe, se ðe wille*)
 SEE ABOVE, 5 and 24
 NONE
 NONE
 Bethurum Xc.95 (*Ne ænig man ne gewunie þæt he huxlice onhisce*)
 NONE
 NONE
 NONE
 Polity II.20, 22, and 81; *Be sacerdan* 136 and 152; II Cnut 84.4a
 Bethurum XXa.98; XXb.136; XXc.141 (*godcundra rihtlaga*); VIII Æthelred 36 (*þe to godcundan rihtlagan woroldlaga settan*); Hadbot 11 (*þe to godcundan rihtlagan*); Grið 24 (*þe ærest gesettan to godcundan rihtlagan woroldlaga biscpan*)
 NONE
 Bethurum II.56; VIIIc.156; IX.77; XXa.28; XXb.34; XXc.33; *Canons* I.56 [= II.59]; Polity I.107; II.212; VIII.9; VIII Æthelred 33; II Cnut 5.1
 NONE
 NONE
 NONE
 Bethurum V.23 (*7 ðæs hit is þe wyrse wide on worulde*); *Life of St Neot* (B3.3.28/169: *þy hit is þe wyrse wide on eorðe*)
 SEE ABOVE, 39; Bethurum Ib.18; II.43; III.4 and 53; V.23; XXc.7 (*wide on worulde*); Napier L.152 (*wide on worolde*)
 SEE BELOW, 46

- 42 þæt man scolde hyrwan SEE BELOW, 46
 43 7 to forð hyrwe SEE BELOW, 44 and 46
 44 þæt man scolde herian SEE BELOW, 46; Grið 21 (7 agynnað oft hyrwan þæt hy scoldan herian)
 45 7 laðette to swyþe SEE BELOW, 46
 46 þæt man scolde lufian Bethurum XXa.108 (And þurh þæt þe man swa deð þæt eal man hyrweð ðæt man sceolde herian 7 to forð laðeð þæt man sceolde lufian); Bethurum XXb.150 (And þurh þæt se man swa deð þæt man eal hyrweð þæt man scolde herian, 7 to forð laðet þæt man scolde lufian); Bethurum XXc.152 (And þurh þæt þe man swa deð þæt man eal hyrweð þæt man scolde heregian 7 to forð laðet þæt man scolde lufian)
 47 Ac hwilum þa hit god wæs NONE
 48 eal he wearð to woroldscame Bethurum XXb.116; XXc.119
 49 se þe stod on mane SEE BELOW, 50
 50 7 on misdæde Bethurum XXc.165 (*mana 7 misdæda ungerim ealra*)
 51 ænige hwile Canons 47
 52 butan he gewende SEE BELOW, 53
 53 þe raþor to his drihtne; Charter S1487.46 (*buton he þe hraþor ongen wende*)
 54 7 se þe gewunede NONE
 55 þæt he wolde leogan NONE
 56 ealle hine leadan SEE BELOW, 57
 57 þa þe God lufedon Bethurum V.16 (*boclare leande 7 unriht lufiende*); XIX.3 (*ða þe God lufedon*); VI Æthelred 26 (*eal swylc is to leanne 7 næfre to lufianne*)
 58 And þa hyt wæs on þeode NONE
 59 for Gode 7 for worolde SEE ABOVE, 11; SEE BELOW, 96
 60 wislic 7 weorðlic Ælfric, Letter to Wulfstan 1.110 (*ac for þam wurðscype and þæm wisdom*); Ælfric Letter to Sigeward 572 (*swiðe wislice ... swiðe wurðelice*); Canons I.59 [= II.59] (*wis and weorðfull*)

- 61 þa man riht lufode NONE
 62 7 unriht ascunode NONE
 63 Ac nu þincð þe wærra NONE
 64 7 mycele þe snotera NONE
 65 se ðe can mid leasungan NONE
 66 wæwerdlice werian NONE
 67 7 mid unsoðe Bethurum IX.42 (7 can him gescead betweox soðe 7 unsoðe); Napier XXVII.7 and L.73 (hiwian unsoð to soðe)
 68 soð oferswiðan Bethurum IX.133 (7 mid unsoðe soð oferswiðan)
 69 Ac wa him þæs wærscribes Napier L.77 (ac wa heom þæs wærscribes and ealles þæs weorðscribes)
 70 7 ealles þæs weorðscribes SEE ABOVE, 69
 71 butan he geswice Bethurum VI.88; XVIII.104; Napier L.172; Polity I.63; II.91, 101, 157; Norðhymbra preosta lagu 61.2; Charter S1232/11; S1406/21
 72 La, riht is þæt we lufian SEE BELOW, 74
 73 þa þe God lufian SEE BELOW, 74
 74 7 hetelice ascunian Bethurum Xc.85 (lufie . . . ascunie); XI.227 (Lufiað rihtwisnesse 7 unriht ascuniað); XIII.24 (God lufian . . . 7 deofol ascunian) and 100 (7 utan lufian riht georne 7 ælc unriht ascunian); Napier XXX.86 (uton georne lufian þa ðing, þe god lufað, and ða lætan and ascunian, þe gode laðe synd); Bazire and Cross VII (B3.2.41/102: swa þæt þu lufige þa þing þe god lufað and þa þing ascunige þe god ascunað); Polity I.5, 68; II.20 (þæt he Godes riht lufie and unriht ascunie); II Edward 1.1 (7 þæt lufian ðæt he lufode, 7 ðæt ascunian ðæt he ascunode); VI Æthelred 6; Cnut 1020.15; Swerian 1 (7 eal lufian ðæt he lufað 7 eal ascunian ðæt he ascunað); Episcopus 9
 75 þa þe God græmian Bethurum XIII.92 (þe God gremiað); Napier XLIII.3 (þa ðe nu god gremiað);

- 76 7 nænne gemanan L.145 (*þe hig swa god gremiað*); LVII.182; *Polity* I.163
- 77 ær wið þa habban Napier LVII.161
- 78 ær þam þe hy gebugan SEE BELOW, 84
- 79 7 geornlice betan Bethurum XXa.119 (*gebugan . . . 7 betan swiðe georne*); XXb.165; XXc.190; Napier L.2; V Æthelred 5 (*gebuge georne . . . 7 bete*); VI Æthelred 3a
- 80 7 se ðe þæt nelle Bethurum XIV.41; *Handbook* 273; VI Æthelred 1; X Æthelred 1; I Cnut 18.1
- 81 ehte we his ealle V Æthelred 7 and 9.2; VI Æthelred 4 and 5.4; VIII Æthelred 10.1
- 82 mid woroldlicre steore NONE
- 83 þe læs þe we habban Napier L.24 and LXI.31; *Polity* I.7; II.9; EGu prol 2; VIII Æthelred 15 and 38
- 84 ænigne gemanan SEE ABOVE, 77; BELOW, 84
- 85 nu heora synna *Polity* I.84 (*næfre . . . ænigne gemanan worldlicre cyððe habban to swiðe*)
- 86 7 eft heora wita NONE
- 87 Ac utan don swa us þearf is NONE
- 88 utan God gladian Bethurum III.74; VIIIC.125 and 174; XIII.53; XXa.119; XXb.165; XXc.186 and 190; Napier XXVII.24; XXX.14; XL.2; L.88; *Polity* XXIV.40; VIII Æthelred 43; II Cnut 68
- 89 7 Godes lage healdan Bethurum XIII.63
- 90 7 anræde weorðan Bethurum III.29; V.81; IX.56; XXa.28; XXb.34; XXc.33; Napier I.57; XXXV.57; XL.121; XLII.284; *Canons* II.68 (*Godes lage rihtlice healdan*); *Polity* I.77; VIII Æthelred 30
- 91 to gemænelican þearfan Napier L.206; *Polity* II.41; VIII.4
- 92 7 gyt hertoeacan *Polity* II.184 (*and weorðan anmode to gemænelicre þearfe for Gode and for worulde*); *Charter* S1533.2
- Bethurum Xc.34 (*7 fela hertoeacan*); XI.185

93	geornlice smeagan	Handbook 101; Polity I.42, 120; II.59, 226
94	fela þæs þe ræd sy	NONE
95	7 ealre þeode þearf sy	Polity XIX.12
96	for Gode 7 for worolde	SEE ABOVE, 11 and 59

SOME SIGNIFICANT ADDITIONS, OMISSIONS,
AND VARIANTS

C ¹²	sume dæle rihtlicor	SEE BELOW, C ²³
C ¹³	þonne we ær didon	ASC C 1014.3 (<i>gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þonne he ær dyde</i>); D 1014.5; E 1014.3
C ¹⁴	7 ascunode to swiðe	NONE
C ¹⁵	7 se þe wolde leogan	NONE
C ¹⁶	oftost on his wordon	NONE
C ¹⁷	La leof riht is þæt we lufian	SEE ABOVE, 74
C ¹⁸	7 godes lage giman	Bethurum VIIIc.129; Napier L.168; LIX.39; VI Æthelred 12.2; VIII Æthelred 43.1; I Cnut 7.3
C ²²	þæt mæg be Sexena ræde	NONE
C ²³	7 be heora bysne on þeode	NONE
C ²⁴	þæt man scolde herian	SEE ABOVE, 44
C ²⁵	7 on misdæda ænige	NONE
C ²⁶	7 se þe wolde wægan	NONE
C ²⁷	oftost on his wordan	NONE
C ²⁸	þeah he swa ne wene	Bethurum XXa.46 (<i>þeh man swa ne wene</i>), XXb.57, XXc.49; Polity I.110; II.215
C ²⁹	La leof riht is þæt we lufian	SEE ABOVE, 74
C ²¹⁰	Wise wæron worldwitan	VIII Æthelred 36; VI Æthelred 51 (<i>wise woroldwitan to steore gesettan</i>); Hadbot 11 (<i>wise wæran worldwitan</i>); Grið 24 (<i>wise ... wæron ... woroldwitan</i>)
C ²¹¹	þe to godcundan rihtlagan	VIII Æthelred 36 (<i>And wise wæran</i>)

- worldwitan, þe to godcundan rihtlagan
 woroldlaga settan, folce to steore, 7 Criste
 7 cyninge gerihtan þa bote, þar man swa
 scolde manega for neode gewildan to
 rihte); Bethurum XXa.98, XXb.139,
 XXc.141 (godcundra rihtlaga); XXI.9
 (godcunde lare 7 woroldcunde rihtlage);
 Hadbot 11; Grið 24
- C²12 worldlaga settan VIII Æthelred 36
- C²13 folce to steore VIII Æthelred 36; Ælfric, *Letter to Sigeweard* 359
- C²14 7 Criste 7 cyninge VIII Æthelred 15 and 36
- C²15 gerehtan þa bote VIII Æthelred 36
- C²16 þar man swa scolde VIII Æthelred 36
- C²17 manega for neode VIII Æthelred 36
- C²18 gewildan to rihte VIII Æthelred 15 (*gewilde man hine to rihte*), 36, and 40 (*gewilde hi to rihte*)

JOANA PROUD

The Cotton-Corpus Legendary
into the Twelfth-Century:
Notes on Salisbury Cathedral
Library MSS 221 and 222

THE MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES OF THE Cotton-Corpus legendary were produced late in the Anglo-Saxon period, although it is believed that a version of the collection, if not the exemplar from which all the extant witnesses ultimately derive, came to England by the late tenth century, when Ælfric used at least part of this as a source for his hagiographic writing in *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*.¹ Notwithstanding the great interest

¹ For the seminal study of the Cotton-Corpus legendary see Patrick H. Zettel, 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric,' *Peritia* 1 (1982): 17–37, based on his "Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in BL MS Cotton Nero E. i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts" (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1979). See also W. Levison, "Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum," in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, ed. Bruno Krusch and idem, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 7 (Hanover, 1920), 529–706, here 545–46. Zettel's reconstruction of the contents of the legendary excludes items which are attested in only one copy, but the exact nature of the legendary used by Ælfric is far from being established, and it has been suggested that the exemplar from which the extant witnesses derive was only introduced into England shortly before the Worcester copy was made c. 1060. See Martin Brett, "The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester," in *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genêt (Paris, 1991), 277–85, here 283, n. 28.

which the collection has for source study relating to Old English prose hagiography, the witnesses can tell us a great deal about the ways that scribes responded to the demand for Latin hagiography in the period 1060–1200, and it is this line of enquiry which I wish to pursue here, focusing upon two manuscripts: namely, Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 and 222.² Several scribes worked on the copying of this collection; most of these have been identified by Teresa Webber as scribes working at Salisbury Cathedral in the period 1075–1125, more precisely 1078–1099.³ Detailed information about the collation of the manuscripts has been recorded by Neil Ker, and this, together with the palaeographical analysis undertaken by Webber, forms the basis of my reconstruction of the copying processes.⁴

The Salisbury copy of the Cotton-Corpus collection is now divided into two volumes, but it is not clear that the division took place as part of the original design or even shortly after the production of the collection, although the size of the manuscripts might have made this desirable from the outset. Together, the extant collection occupies almost 600 folios, each measuring around 365 x 250 mm. Such physical dimensions suggest that the copy was intended for reading aloud, although Ker comments that this may have been slightly inconvenient due to the practice of writing in a single column.⁵ The added markings for lections in Salisbury 222 indicate that at least part of the legendary was being used within a liturgical context during the medieval period.⁶

² Formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 4 and Fell 1 (S. C. 8689 and 8688). I am grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury Cathedral for permission to examine this manuscript, and I owe special thanks to Miss Suzanne Eward for her help.

³ Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), 16.

⁴ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vols. 1–3, and with A. J. Piper, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1969–1992), 4: 257–62, hereafter cited as *Medieval Manuscripts*. The contents of the manuscripts are listed by both Ker and Webber. Item numbers cited here follow Ker's account. See also Neil R. Ker, "Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts and Patrick Young's Catalogue," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 53 (1949): 153–83, esp. 159–61 for details of the seventeenth-century provenance of five manuscripts containing saints' lives, among them the two volumes of this legendary.

⁵ N. R. Ker, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 23–49 and plates III–VII (26).

⁶ A contemporary calendar, now London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xii, fols. 65v–71, seems unlikely to have been useful in conjunction with this legendary since

The material now found at the original break between the manuscripts, a text on Matthias, was written early in the twelfth century but could have been bound in with the rest at any time, and its presence does not constitute proof of the date by which the volumes were separated.⁷ However, by the time the thirteenth-century contents list now pasted onto a flyleaf of Salisbury 221 was written, it appears that this manuscript was the first volume, since none of the texts in Salisbury 222 is listed.⁸ The last text of Salisbury 221 (Primus and Felician) ends imperfectly, and from the evidence of this contents list it is clear that the original volume included the rest of this and two further texts at the end, concerning Getulius and Basilides.⁹ The loss of text at this point strengthens the likelihood that this was the end of a volume, as this would have been a vulnerable point of the book. Salisbury 222 has, at some stage, lost text at the beginning, but the imperfect text that is now item 1 was not originally copied at the head of the second volume.¹⁰ There may also have been text lost from the end of the volume, although this too is subject to debate.

What is clear is that the first volume as it now stands was produced as two substantial booklets, perhaps simultaneously. Quires 1-28 (fols. 1-224)

there is considerable mismatch between the calendar and the legendary. Both texts seem rather to exemplify the tendency towards encyclopaedic collection of feasts and texts in liturgical books of this period. The calendar is printed in *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. Francis Wormald, 2 vols., HBS 77 (London, 1939) and 81 (London, 1946), no. 7. Wormald attributes the calendar to Exeter, but Ker associates it with Salisbury ("Beginnings," 39; 'Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts,' 156, n. 2).

⁷ The text is not listed in either the thirteenth-century or the seventeenth-century lists, which suggests that the leaf was not appended until after the manuscript was catalogued by Thomas Barlow.

⁸ The blank space at the end of the list suggests that it was a complete inventory. The list includes item 44 (Blaise) but not item 67 (Matthias). Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 257, notes that the list covers items 3-18 and 20-68 of Salisbury 221, but this is misleading. The first item is now lost, but a later medieval hand has supplied the information that this was a Life of Martina. The second item is also damaged and only a few of the thirteenth-century letters are now visible. From this it is not clear what the entry might once have been, but there is no question that a text (probably concerning Basil) was present when the list was made. Furthermore, the list includes texts up to Ker's item 66, followed by a two-line entry which reads, "Passio Sancti Gethulii martyris / Passio Sanctorum martyrum Basilidis Tripodis 7 Ma[ndalis]"; there was no item 68 in Ker's account.

⁹ These were probably lost by the seventeenth century as they are not listed by Thomas Barlow.

¹⁰ Item 1 in Salisbury 222, concerning Faith, is acephalous. See the discussion below, 345.

of Salisbury 221 were written in one block mostly by a single scribe, who wrote items 1–43 (fols. 1–223/2), leaving part of item 43, the *passio* of Mark the Evangelist, unfinished. This scribe has been recognized as the principal scribe writing in Salisbury in the late eleventh century to create a collection for the newly established community.¹¹ Early in his stint, at fol. 89 of Salisbury 221, the number of lines per page is increased from 33 to 36, and at the same time the space between the lines is decreased from 9mm to 7mm, which would suggest a conscious attempt to save valuable materials.¹² Webber identifies the hand of scribe ix taking over mid-sentence to write five lines within this single stint.¹³ This auxiliary scribe did not contribute to the copying of the legendary at any other stage. The final fifteen lines of the *passio* of Mark were also written by another scribe, who is identified by Ker as a “director” on the basis of his work, particularly his corrections, in numerous Salisbury manuscripts and in this legendary.¹⁴ Space originally left blank on the last two leaves of this block was filled at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The second block, consisting of quires 29–35 (fols. 225–77), was also written in a continuous stint by one main scribe, with two others who intervened briefly. Webber identifies the main scribe as scribe vi, who wrote items 45–53, leaving item 53 only partly copied. An unidentified scribe took over, writing just a few lines before scribe vi resumed the copy-

¹¹ Ker, “Beginnings,” 23, labels the scribe as A (Webber’s iii). See Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 12–15, for details of other work done by the scribes who contributed to this manuscript. All subsequent references to scribes follow Webber.

¹² Ker, “Beginnings,” 36, notes this change in layout at the beginning of the ninth quire; by my calculations, this is the twelfth quire. The same change in page layout occurs at fol. 89 in Salisbury 222 as well, but fols. 184–255 (quires 25–33) in Salisbury 222 are ruled for 33 lines while fols. 256–288 (quires 34–37) are ruled for 32 lines, with minor variation. It is possible that, in a highly organized scriptorium, three sets of eleven quires were ruled for 33 lines and these were distributed to the scribes responsible for each volume. When these were used up, or while they were being used, the next quires to be prepared were ruled for 36 lines, and another set for 32 lines. It may be conjectured that the instruction to alter the ruling came from the principal scribe, perhaps writing at the same time as the main hand of Salisbury 222, fols. 2–88v and the main hand of Salisbury 222, fols. 184–255. The interpretation of the differences in layout throughout the legendary has implications for a reconstruction of the order of copying.

¹³ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 156.

¹⁴ Ker’s C, Webber’s i. See Ker, “Beginnings,” 33–34, where he speculates that this Norman script may have been Osmund’s. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 138–39, suggests instead that this scribe might have been an archdeacon, possibly Hubald.

ing to finish item 53 and continued to near the end of item 60. The copying must have been interrupted again at this point, as scribe xvi took over to write less than a page of item 60 before scribe vi returned again to copy the rest of item 60 and at least another six texts.¹⁵ Such a pattern of short interventions by secondary scribes can be interpreted as a sign of haste in copying. Ker notes that some of the books produced during this period of stocking the library were copied in a hurry, with some scribes taking over the copying to write only a page or less.¹⁶ This occurs four times in the copying of the first volume of the legendary, but is more frequent in the copying of the second volume; it appears that either interruptions increased or the pressure was greater to continue copying despite interruptions.

The second volume of the legendary (Salisbury 222) was also copied in booklets. Despite the presence of the same scribes in two of these booklets, it is quite possible that the copying could have been mostly simultaneous. The first folio of the second volume is from a slightly later legendary, identified as Salisbury Cathedral Library 223.¹⁷ The leaf contains an incomplete text, concerning St. Faith, which ends on the verso. It was bound with Salisbury 222 at an unknown date, interrupting the chronological order and the sequence of numbering in the collection, which was apparently copied from the exemplar.¹⁸ Its presence in Salisbury 222 testifies to the close association of these two legends.

Items 2–28 of Salisbury 222 were copied as a block on quires 2–12 (fols.

¹⁵ Fols. 262v–77v, ending imperfectly. The last quire is now a five, where the rest of the quires in the manuscript are eights. The last two leaves, fols. 276–77, are repaired along the inner margin and may once have been the inner bifolium of a quire of four bifolia. Originally there were at least two further texts in the volume, and these could have occupied two to three leaves, perhaps completing this quire.

¹⁶ Ker, "Beginnings," 24.

¹⁷ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 169–70. It is smaller in size than the rest of the legendary, and has only a single vertical bounding line, ruled in plummet, whereas the rest of Salisbury 222 is ruled in drypoint with double vertical bounding lines. There is also a distinct pattern of at least four wormholes on fol. 1. Two, possibly three, wormholes run through fol. 1 to fol. 2, but they are no longer aligned, indicating that the leaves have been repositioned at least once since these holes were made.

¹⁸ The text is not included in the seventeenth-century list made by Thomas Barlow, which suggests that it was either acephalous by this date, or was not present in the manuscript.

2–88v).¹⁹ Scribe v seems to be the main scribe of this block, with help from three others. The main scribe wrote items 1–22 and part of item 23.²⁰ A few more lines of this text were then copied by scribe iii; then scribe xvi contributed one page of text, completing item 23 and beginning item 24. The main scribe then resumed the copying as far as the beginning of item 28.²¹ The remainder was completed by an unidentified hand, with a few lines of blank space left at the end.

Items 29–50 of Salisbury 222 were copied as another block of continuous text on quires 13–24 (fols. 89–183). Another unidentified scribe wrote the first five texts and most of a sixth (the Life of Berhtin), which was completed by scribe xvi writing fols. 121–25.²² This stint ended midway through the *passio* of Adrian. With the exception of the initial contribution of the unknown scribe, the main scribe of this booklet was scribe xvi, with help from scribe v, copying between ten lines and one folio. There appear to have been interruptions during the copying of four texts. The *passio* of Adrian was produced with two changes of hand.²³ Another stint of writing by scribe xvi produced fols. 126–150/7, this time coming to a halt after a few lines of the Life of Lambert. It took no fewer than seven changes of hand between scribes xvi and v to copy this text on seven folios.²⁴ Scribe xvi completed the Life of Lambert and began the *passio* of Matthew, but again this required the combined efforts of scribes xvi and v.²⁵ Scribe xvi then completed the text and continued to copy all of the next text and the beginning of the *passio* of Firmin. Here again there must have been problems, as scribe v and an unidentified scribe intervened to

¹⁹ Ker's account in *Medieval Manuscripts* divides Salisbury 222 into blocks, identified by quire numbers. However, due to the confusion of labelling the leaf containing the Faith text as quire 1, the quire numbers given for the blocks are wrong: Ker's block of quires 2–11 should read 2–12, 12–23 should read 13–24, and 24–36 should read 25–37. Also, the note that Barlow's list omits item 2 (among others) should read 3.

²⁰ Fols. 1–75v/28.

²¹ Fols. 77–85v/10.

²² The unidentified hand is not the same as that which completed the preceding block.

²³ It was begun by scribe xvi writing up to fol. 125. Scribe v then wrote fol. 125v, followed by scribe xvi who wrote fols. 126–50/7 to complete Adrian and several more texts.

²⁴ Fols. 150/8–36 (v), 150v–152v/12 (xvi), 152v/12–36 (v), 153–154/4 (xvi), 154/4–36 (v), 154v–155v/24 (xvi), 155v/25–36 (v), 156–157v/24 (xvi).

²⁵ Scribe v took over to write fols. 157v/24–158v, in the middle of the text.

assist scribe xvi. Scribe xvi completed this text and the remainder of the block, leaving a small amount of blank space at the end.²⁶

Items 51–57 of Salisbury 222 were copied as a third continuous block of writing on quires 25–37 (fols. 184–288). At the head of the block is found a numbered contents list which was contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, and which is now crossed through. It includes all the texts of this third block and another forty-three texts, which would have completed the series to the end of the year, followed by two additional items out of chronological sequence.²⁷ The numbering in this list is not appropriate to the Salisbury copy. It matches the marginal numbering sometimes copied with the texts, and probably reflects the numbering of the exemplar. Scribe vi, who wrote the list, was the main scribe of this booklet and continued to write fols. 184–286v/4, constituting almost the entire block. He shared the copying of the final text with three other scribes.²⁸ The end of the text, on fol. 288, was written by the principal Salisbury scribe (Ker's A, Webber's iii), leaving some blank space at the end of this enlarged quire.²⁹ It appears that the copying was considered finished, at least for the time being, and one might speculate that the exemplar was returned before the entire collection could be reproduced.³⁰ On the other hand, fols. 184–288 may be one booklet that has survived while other booklets have been lost. Zettel takes the view that the remainder of the

²⁶ Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 262, suggested that the missing three leaves of the last quire in this block were probably trimmed to remove excess blank space.

²⁷ Ludwig Bieler suggests that these last two texts were possibly early additions to the exemplar, as they appear at the end of this legendary's contents list, and at the end of Bodley 354, while the Worcester copy incorporates these within its collection. See *Libri epistolarum sancti Patricii episcopi*, ed. by Ludwig Bieler, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1952), 1: 13. See also *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et miracula S. Kenelmi and Vita S. Rumwoldi*, ed. and trans. by Rosalind C. Love (Oxford, 1996), xxi.

²⁸ An unidentified hand wrote a few more lines of this text (fol. 286v/4–17), Scribe vi resumed for fifteen more lines (fols. 286v/18–32), then another unidentified hand wrote a short portion (fols. 286v/33–287).

²⁹ The quire is a nine; fol. 288 is probably a singleton. As Professor Scragg has commented on another occasion, the intervention by a senior scribe to complete a text might have been to prevent a mechanical scribe from continuing the copying (D. G. Scragg, "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss [Cambridge, 1985], 299–316, here 303, n. 22).

³⁰ Ker, "Beginnings," 36, sees this section as originally intended to be a third volume but now bound in with the second volume.

collection was copied and then subsequently lost.³¹ There is the further possibility that the exemplar was damaged or incomplete at this point.³² The final stage of the original production was the correction of the legendary carried out by scribe i, who had also contributed a few lines in the first booklet.

To summarize these findings, the legendary was constructed as a series of five structurally independent units, with occasional variation in the size of quires as scribes gauged the amount of material to be copied. Each of the booklets was the responsibility of a main scribe, who received assistance from others to keep the work progressing. It is quite possible that four of the five remaining booklets could have been produced simultaneously. This is consistent with the notion that the legendary was being produced in haste, although Webber observes that this method of production was uncommon in Salisbury books of this period.³³ The principal Salisbury scribe may have begun the work alongside scribes vi (writing the second booklet of the first volume), v (writing the first booklet of the second volume), and xvi (writing the second booklet of the second volume). When scribe vi had completed his first stint, he may have gone on to copy most of the third block in the second volume. Alternatively, scribe vi may have begun with the third block in the second volume, and then moved on to complete the first volume after the work of the principal scribe, beginning with a fresh quire.³⁴ The evidence of the ruling, as discussed above, would support this alternative reconstruction of the copying.

In the copying of the second volume, the frequency of scribal alternation is particularly high, suggesting that the scribes involved had other occupations within the Cathedral apart from writing, to which they were called during the copying.³⁵ The division of labour suggests strongly that

³¹ "Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources," 12.

³² Other lacunae certainly existed in the Salisbury exemplar: an unidentified scribe left two blank spaces in the text of Augustine's Life (item 30), clearly reflecting a gap in the exemplar since exactly the same lacunae occur in the Worcester copy, although these were later filled. Mario Esposito, "On the Earliest Latin Life of St. Brigid of Kildare," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (C), 30 (1912), 307–26, here 310, interprets this as evidence of a common immediate exemplar for both manuscripts.

³³ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 17.

³⁴ See also Ker, "Beginnings," 37, where the use of a fresh quire is interpreted as a sign of simultaneous copying of the two booklets in Salisbury 221.

³⁵ To estimate the time during which the main scribe of a block might have been absent, it is helpful to consider Michael Gullick's work on scribal productivity: "How Fast

there was a pressing need to complete the copying quickly, and that the scribes who strove to fulfil that need followed a highly organized working procedure.

It seems probable also that the exemplar was divided into at least five booklets in order to be copied, and that these booklets were easily separated from each other so that breaks between blocks of quires coincided with breaks between blocks of texts.³⁶ Some more information about the exemplar is afforded by the intermittent contemporary numbering of items in the collection. In Salisbury 221 the numbers run from item 20, numbered "xviii", through to item 66, numbered "lx". The two missing texts on Getulius and Basilides were probably numbered "lxi" and "lxii".³⁷ Items 2-57 in Salisbury 222 are numbered "lxiii"- "cxviii", with a continuation, according to the list on fol. 184, up to "clxi". The evidence points to a numbered exemplar at some stage of the transmission which consisted of Salisbury 221 items 1-19 (or possibly only seventeen texts from this sequence), 20-43, 45-66, Getulius, Basilides, then Salisbury 222 items 2-57 and the forty-three further items listed in the contents list of Salisbury 222 fol. 184, totalling over 160 items. One might assume that the exemplar was returned immediately after the copying, and it may have been used elsewhere although the immediate manuscript witnesses are now lost.³⁸

A short while after the Salisbury legendary as a whole was produced, additional material was added to the collection. The blank space at the end of the first block in Salisbury 221 was soon used for item 44

Did Scribes Write? Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts," in *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, CA, and London, 1995), 39-58.

³⁶ Further work on this aspect of the exemplar is in progress.

³⁷ It is possible that two of the first nineteen items were not found in the exemplar, although all of these are found in the Worcester copy of the collection. An alternative explanation for the disjunction of the numbering might be that two items for "eodem die" were not counted in the numbering of the exemplar, or that this numbering reflects an even earlier stratum of the collection, before two of the texts were added. Another disjunction occurs between items 53 and 57 of Salisbury 221, numbered "l" and "li" respectively. The intervening three texts were either not numbered in the exemplar, or were not found there. In this case it seems quite possible that the numbering system may have counted items 54-56 as parts of item 53 since they are all linked together in the Acts of Nereus and Achilleus.

³⁸ The other extant witnesses of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, apart from the earlier Worcester copy, are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354 and Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. 7. vi.

(Blaise).³⁹ The added text is out of chronological order, as the feast of Blaise was usually celebrated on 3 February while the surrounding feasts are 25 and 28 April respectively.⁴⁰ This was, of course, the earliest opportunity for such an interpolation, but no other copy of the legendary collection includes the text, and this reinforces the likelihood that it was not found in the exemplar. There is no obvious reason for the late inclusion of this text: Blaise had an established reputation in Canterbury but his feast was minor nationally.⁴¹ Also in the first half of the twelfth century, a single leaf was written holding a brief text on Matthias; it was added at the end of the second block of Salisbury 221, now fol. 278, but there is no firm evidence of the date at which this occurred.⁴²

The scribe of the Blaise text also worked on other Salisbury manuscripts produced in the early twelfth century, including Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 223 (formerly Fell 3, S. C. 8687) copied in collaboration with scribes xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, and one other unidentified scribe. This manuscript contains thirty hagiographic texts, also copied in five booklets. It would have augmented the collection in the earlier legendary, with minimal overlap. Also produced at this time was the collection of saints' lives in Dublin, Trinity College, 174, containing thirty-six items, with some grouping of apostles and female saints. These three legendaries may have been used together at Salisbury, and are certainly listed as a group in the 1622 catalogue compiled by Patrick Young, although this may reflect their physical location in the library rather than their use.⁴³

³⁹ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 24, identifies the scribe as scribe xiv.

⁴⁰ Blaise is commemorated at 14 June in the contemporary calendar copied at Salisbury. This calendar entry, however, may represent a confusion, at some stage in the transmission, of "Blasii" with "Basilii", as Basil the Great's feast of 14 June appears in a number of pre-1100 calendars. A later hand has noted on fol. 136v the correct position for the text, with a reference to its location between the texts for Vitalis, and Gervase and Protase.

⁴¹ His relics were the first acquired from Rome by Archbishop Plegmund for Canterbury around the beginning of the tenth century, according to Gervase of Canterbury, writing in the twelfth century.

⁴² The script is not identified as a Salisbury hand by Webber, and the text is not listed in either the thirteenth-century or the seventeenth-century lists, which suggests that the leaf was not appended until after the manuscript had been catalogued by Barlow. It may be that the leaf was bound into the legendary when the manuscript passed into the Bodleian Library.

⁴³ The catalogue is printed in Ker, 'Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts,' 167-72. These four volumes are numbers 157-160 in Young's catalogue. Two further manuscripts, now lost and undatable, are of interest. Their existence was recorded in documents relating

Webber comments on this copying activity that the Salisbury canons appear uninterested in copying the lives of Anglo-Saxon saints, apart from very successful saints such as Cuthbert and Wilfred, who appear in Salisbury 223.⁴⁴ Boniface, Guthlac, and Patrick could be added to this list, along with other saints who had flourishing English cults such as Giles and Nicholas, although it is clear that this copying took place a little later than the production of the Cotton-Corpus legendary. The Cotton-Corpus legendary was copied at Salisbury without augmentation or other significant development of its essentially continental collection. It may be that there was no time for additions to be planned, if the copying had to be completed very quickly, or there may not have been exemplars available in the newly created library. By contrast, the Hereford version of the collection, copied in the middle of the twelfth century, incorporates the lives of several English saints and other saints important to the English.⁴⁵ Augmentation of the Salisbury legendary came in the form of other manuscripts, but nothing survives which might have adequately supplied the October–December texts missing from the end of Salisbury 222. In a similar movement towards augmentation, the earliest surviving version of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, held at Worcester, attracted accretions in this period to the beginnings and ends of its now divided volumes, but the original collection may not have been altered much from the exemplar.⁴⁶

to the removal of six books from Salisbury for loan to Archbishop Ussher in 1640 (see Ker, 'Salisbury Cathedral Manuscripts,' 159–60). Four of the six books removed are the volumes of saints' lives in Salisbury 221, 222, and 223, and TCD 174. A fifth can be identified as having contained a Life of St Germanus (listed as no. 69 in Patrick Young's catalogue) and the sixth is unidentified.

⁴⁴ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 40, n. 32.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, only the portion for November and December is now extant. Among those included in the extant portion are the Anglo-Saxon saints Edmund, Eadburh, and Ecgvine.

⁴⁶ For a brief account of the augmentation process, beginning in the third quarter of the eleventh century, see Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), 131–46, here 132–33; Love, xxi–xxiii. In the twelfth century, texts concerning Nicholas, Andrew, Frideswide, David, Margaret of Antioch, and Bede were added. The end-leaf containing part of a Life of Oswald, although written in the twelfth century, may have been added at a later binding. On the corrections to the manuscript, see also N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), 53. As Rosalind Love points out (Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints Lives*, xx–xxi, n. 45) the alterations made at Worcester to the collection require further attention.

Possibly, the Salisbury and Worcester legends represent a slightly different approach to the Cotton-Corpus collection from that found in the twelfth century, transmitting the collection without adapting it to the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman contexts. The process of making this a specifically English text, so that the only surviving manuscript witnesses today are English, clearly began slowly. The work of Ælfric, in translating and adapting parts of the legendary into Old English, thereby stands out as a far-sighted achievement against the backdrop of the more conservative treatment of the Latin text throughout the eleventh century and into the twelfth.

TIMOTHY GRAHAM

William L'Isle's Letters to Sir Robert Cotton

WILLIAM L'ISLE (c. 1569–1637) is a significant figure in the history of Anglo-Saxon studies. In 1623 he published *A Saxon Treatise on the Old and New Testament*, an edition, with accompanying English translation, of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* enumerating and summarizing the books of the Bible. This was the most important publication in Old English in the period between the activity of the Parker circle in the 1560s and 1570s and the appearance, in the early 1640s, of John Spelman's *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* and Abraham Wheelock's Old English and Latin edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. While *A Saxon Treatise* was L'Isle's only publication in the field, other evidence survives to broaden the picture of the range and nature of his activity as an Anglo-Saxonist. Two notebooks of his now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MSS Laud Misc. 201 and 381), contain his transcription and translation of the Old English version of the psalms in the Eadwine Psalter, his translation of the Old English Hexateuch and Ælfric's homily on the book of Judges, and his compilation of those passages of the Old Testament that are quoted in the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon homilies — a compilation based on his close examination of nine homiliaries in Cambridge libraries. L'Isle sought to publish this material, but was unable to do so.¹ He was the owner of the Peterborough Chronicle (Oxford, Bodleian

¹ See Phillip Pulsiano, "William L'Isle and the Editing of Old English," in *The Re-*

Library, MS Laud Misc. 636), and his ownership has materially affected the state in which that manuscript has come down to us, for he interleaved the original text with larger paper leaves on which he entered additional passages and variant readings that he found in two other copies of the Chronicle.² There is also evidence that he compiled a substantial Old English dictionary, although sadly, no portion of it is known to survive.³

Seven letters that L'Isle wrote to Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) contribute to our understanding of his interest in Old English while also throwing light on other aspects of his scholarly activity. Although portions of the letters have been quoted in previous studies of L'Isle's work, none has hitherto been printed in its entirety.⁴ Six of the letters are to be found in London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius C. iii, a collection of letters sent to Cotton; the seventh is in MS Harley 7000, a compendium of miscellaneous correspondence mostly from the years 1620–1632. Letters 1, 4, 5, and 7 are written in L'Isle's informal italic hand (see Figure 2), while Letters 2, 3, and 6 are in his Secretary hand (see Figure 3). Only four of the letters are dated (the date being damaged in one case), but the content of the other three is sufficiently specific, when considered in conjunction with other evidence, to enable them to be approximately dated and to be placed at their correct points in the sequence. Five of the letters were written during a period of several months ending in July 1622; the sixth apparently belongs to the middle or late 1620s, and L'Isle sent the last in March 1631, just two months before Cotton's death. It is clear from allusions within the letters that L'Isle must have sent other letters to Cotton, but these seem not to have been preserved; nor do we have any of Cotton's replies.

Discussion of manuscripts dominates the letters. In most cases the manuscripts mentioned can be identified. The picture that emerges not only sharpens our knowledge of how L'Isle, from his home at Wilbraham

covery of Old English: *Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Timothy Graham (Kalamazoo, 2000), 173–206, here 198–205; and Timothy Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv: Robert Talbot and William L'Isle," in *The Old English Hexateuch: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000), 271–316, here 306–12.

² See the commentary on Letter 7 below.

³ See the commentary on Letter 7 below.

⁴ For portions quoted, see Pulsiano, "William L'Isle and the Editing of Old English," nn. 3, 29, 32, and 35; and Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 288–91.

near Cambridge, conducted his Anglo-Saxon studies; it also enhances our understanding of how the Cotton library was used during the time of its founder, and of the methods Sir Robert deployed to develop his collection. L'Isle writes of borrowing and returning several of Cotton's Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and indicates how they were delivered between London and Cambridge; he informs Sir Robert of how he has collated manuscripts against one another and entered variant readings in them; he proposes exchanges of manuscripts, and serves as Cotton's "contact man" for obtaining manuscripts in Cambridge; and he informs Cotton of the progress of his own publication projects. The letters emphasize, moreover, that L'Isle was more than just an Anglo-Saxon scholar. The two manuscripts of his own that he offers to send Cotton are a cartulary of the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, and a late-thirteenth-century copy of Latin and Anglo-Norman works relating to Thomas Becket; his allusion in Letter 7 to his forthcoming edition of Heliodorus reminds us that this talented Anglo-Saxonist was also the translator of works in Greek and French.⁵

In the edition of the letters that follows, I have retained L'Isle's spellings but have introduced some adjustments to the punctuation and capitalization to bring them more into line with modern conventions. Italics represent expansions of abbreviations. The upper, lower, and/or outer edges of three of the letters (nos. 1-3) have suffered damage which has removed portions of text. Ellipses within brackets represent sections of damage where it is impossible to reconstruct the missing text; letters or words within brackets represent sections of damage where some or all of the lost text can be conjectured with confidence. Following each letter, a commentary elucidates the subject matter of the letter and offers identifications of the individuals and books mentioned therein.

LETTER 1

MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 244. Undated; datable between 23 April 1621 and spring 1622 (see commentary). The top of the letter has been lost, and

⁵ In addition to his translation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, published in 1631, L'Isle also published translations of portions of Saluste du Bartas's *La Sepmaine ou Création du monde* (1596 and 1625). See A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd ed. rev. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London, 1976-1991; hereafter STC), nos. 13047 and 21662-21663.

damage has also removed the first word in the first surviving line, the ends of the first three lines, and all but the tops of the letters of L'Isle's signature.

[...] may I say of y[our] aunswer to my la[st ...] you wrote not againe, but sent me the [...] desired; which was the best kinde of aunswer [...] & I most hartly thank you for it. My care hath ben also so far foorth to deserue this and other your fauours, that I re-terne it saufe ag[aine] by this bearer Thomas Sauuage; hauing alrea[die] made the best use therof I could, both for my self & you. For I haue examined and amended both the bookes, each by other, as you may perceiue by this. Which, bycause I suppose you hould the more deare; as you may, both for the volume, character & pictures; I would not presume to keep from you long. The other also, and Beda, you shal haue (god willing) when I come. So with due salutations I commit you to god, & rest

Your faithfull frende to commaund
Wyll. L'ysle.

[Endorsed:] To my honorable frend Sir Robert Cotton knight at his house by the new Exchaunge, London.

Commentary

This letter, evidently the first in the sequence of L'Isle's surviving letters to Cotton, mentions three manuscripts that L'Isle has borrowed from Sir Robert. All three can be identified. L'Isle begins by thanking Cotton for responding promptly to his request for one particular manuscript. Later comments in the letter indicate that L'Isle already has on loan another copy of the same text, that he has now compared the two copies, that he is returning the copy more recently received, and that that copy contains illustrations. Undoubtedly the two manuscripts in question are MS Cotton Claudius B. iv, the illustrated copy of the Old English Hexateuch; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 509, which once formed part of Cotton's collection and which contains the Hexateuch, Ælfric's homily on Judges, and his *Letter to Sigeward*.⁶ L'Isle's ob-

⁶ On Cotton's one-time ownership of MS Laud Misc. 509, see Colin G. C. Tite,

servation that he has entered emendations in each manuscript by reference to the other is amply borne out by entries in his hand to be found in both.⁷ The third manuscript mentioned in the letter, referred to by L'Isle simply as "Beda", is MS Cotton Otho B. xi, which contained the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the G-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the laws of Alfred and Ine, and other material. L'Isle's use of MS Otho B. xi is attested by annotations in his hand that can still be seen on many of the now damaged folios of the manuscript, which suffered gravely in the Cotton fire of 1731.⁸ Cotton recorded all three manuscripts as being on loan to L'Isle in his list of "such Books as I hau befor this 23 Aprill. 1621 lent out of my study" (London, British Library, MS Harley 6018, fol. 148v; see Figure 1).⁹ The inclusion of the three manuscripts in the list helps to establish an approximate date for this letter: given that at the time L'Isle wrote it, he was returning MS Claudius B. iv, it can be dated after 23 April 1621, when Cotton noted that the manuscript was on loan, and before the spring of 1622, when L'Isle wrote Letter 3, the content of which indicates that by then he had returned MS Laud Misc. 509 (still in his hands at the time of writing Letter 1) and wanted to borrow it again. Further, L'Isle's observation in this letter that he had not wished to retain MS Claudius B. iv for long suggests that the letter is unlikely to have been written more than a few weeks after Cotton drew up his loan list. Thomas Savage, who carried the letter (and with it MS Claudius B. iv) to Cotton, is perhaps the individual of that name who gained

"'Lost or Stolen or Strayed': A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library," *The British Library Journal* 18 (1992): 107–47, here 110–11 (repr. in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, ed. C. J. Wright [London, 1997], 208–29, here 219–20). I wish to acknowledge here the friendly help and advice most generously given to me by Dr Tite in response to my queries about several points in L'Isle's letters. Dr Tite also kindly read and offered his expert comment on an earlier draft of this paper.

⁷ Discussed in Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 293–98.

⁸ The majority of L'Isle's annotations are to be found in the Bede portion, which he collated against the copy in Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 3. 18. He also entered a few notes to the Chronicle text, on fols. 40r, 41r, 43v, and 45r, and copied some passages from the Chronicle on to the paper leaves that he inserted into the Peterborough Chronicle (see the commentary on Letter 7 below).

⁹ For the text of the relevant entries in the list, see Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 288.

his Cambridge M.A. in 1621, having been a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1618–1621.¹⁰ L'Isle's endorsement of this letter (and of nos. 3 and 5) instructs the bearer to deliver it to Cotton "at his house by the new Exchange" in London. This refers to Sir Robert's residence in the Strand (where Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had built the New Exchange in 1608–1609). Cotton changed his London residence several times after first settling in the city in the late 1580s. He seems to have moved to the Strand in the late 1610s; in 1622 he purchased the house within the Palace of Westminster that he was to occupy for the rest of his life and where, in due course, his manuscripts were arranged in presses surmounted by busts of the early Roman emperors.¹¹

LETTER 2

MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 238. Undated; datable after Letter 1 and shortly before Letter 3 (written in the spring of 1622). There is slight damage to the right edge of the letter.

Sir, I received a letter from Mr Watts of Cayes Coll. to send vp two books vnto you. Yf he meant those I borrowed of you, yt shalbe don foorthwith. Yf others, I desire to speak with you again first about them, especially that of Rivall, which is myne own; as for the other, that of Elye, yt was fetched from me synce I saw you, by a letter & messenger from the owner, to be sent presently vnto London for my Lord of Durham: of whom I thynke you may easily obtain yt. Mr Lynsell of Clare Hall was the man that had yt of me, by the warrant aforesayd. I thought yt acceptable vnto you to have intelligen[ce] therof. So, excusing my hast with other much writing in hand, I betake you my love & service, & rest my selfe

At your freindely disposition
Wyll. L'ysle.

¹⁰ See John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I: From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–1927), 4: 21.

¹¹ See Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586–1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1979), 74; and Colin G. C. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton, The Panizzi Lectures 1993* (London, 1994), 19–20, 85–99.

Commentary

The content of this letter partly overlaps with that of Letter 3; since Letter 3 provides a fuller explanation of matters touched on here, it would appear to be the later of the two. The "Mr Watts" from whom L'Isle here writes that he has heard is William Watts, chaplain of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (1616–1626), who assisted Sir Henry Spelman in the compilation of his *Archæologus* (1626) and who translated the *Confessions* of St. Augustine (1631).¹² L'Isle indicates that he is unsure whether Cotton's request relayed by Watts means that Cotton wishes him to return two books that he has on loan — presumably MSS Cotton Otho B. xi and Laud Misc. 509, for which see Letter 1 — or that Cotton himself seeks to obtain two books that he and L'Isle had evidently already discussed. One of those books, concerning Rievaulx, is L'Isle's own; this manuscript is discussed in detail below, in the commentary on Letter 3. The other, "that of Ely" (mentioned also in Letters 3 and 4), is likely to be a copy of one of the versions of the *Liber Eliensis*, which contains a history of the abbey of Ely with special attention to its landed estates.¹³ L'Isle notes that he has recently been asked to return this Ely manuscript to its owner, who wished to send it to London for the use of the bishop of Durham. L'Isle's further reference to "Mr Lynsell of Clare Hall", who "had yt of me, by the warrant aforesayd", identifies the owner as Augustine Lindsell, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, who in 1621 obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity.¹⁴ Lindsell was a protégé of Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham (1617–1628), who provided him with lodgings in his London residence, Durham House in the Strand;¹⁵ it was no doubt to this residence (close to Cotton's own) that the Ely manuscript was to be directed. It must be this same Ely manuscript that Lindsell bequeathed to Cotton by his will, which he drew up in 1624, ten years before his death; Lindsell there writes that "I giue to [my] worshipfull good frende Sir Robert Cotton knight His-

¹² See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 4: 353; and the entry for Watts in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter DNB), 20: 986.

¹³ On the different versions, see E. O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Society, 3rd ser. 92 (London, 1962), xxiii–xxvii.

¹⁴ See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 3: 86; and the entry for Lindsell in the DNB, 11: 1196.

¹⁵ As is noted in the DNB entry for Neile, 14: 172.

toria Ecclesiæ Eliensis manuscript."¹⁶ From Letter 3, it is clear that L'Isle had the Ely manuscript in his hands for some time before he had to return it to Lindsell. It is therefore possible that this was the manuscript on which L'Isle drew in his *A Saxon Treatise* of 1623, in the preface of which he quotes a statement in "the History of Ely" to the effect that King Alfred translated part of the Bible into Old English; a note printed in the margin alongside comments that this passage can be found within Book I, in the chapter *De vastatione Danica*.¹⁷ The only manuscript of the *Liber Eliensis* in the Cotton collection to include this chapter is MS Cotton Domitian A. xv, fols. 2–95, in which the passage quoted by L'Isle occurs on fol. 28v. The possibility that this was the manuscript used by L'Isle is strengthened by the presence on fol. 3r of a note that appears to be in his hand.¹⁸ Cotton has signed his name on fols. 2r and 95r. His signature on fol. 95r immediately follows the end of the original text and has been entered over the erasure of a four-line inscription in an early modern hand. Some letters of the erased text are still legible. The first two letters of the third line are "Au" and the fourth letter is "t", which raises the possibility that this line may have contained Lindsell's name, with the Christian name written in abbreviated form. It seems most likely, then, that MS Domitian A. xv is the Ely manuscript mentioned in Letters 2–4.

LETTER 3

MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 240. Spring 1622. The left and right edges are damaged, and there are holes in the upper right area. The letter has been folded, and at the left side of the top and bottom fold-lines damage has removed about a quarter of a line of text. In the now fragmentary date, the word preceding "28th" could have been either "the" or "Marche"; that the letter was sent in the spring is shown by its first sentence.

¹⁶ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 111 Seager. The will was proved on 8 December 1634.

¹⁷ *A Saxon Treatise*, sig. e2r.

¹⁸ The note (trimmed to "Ely ecc") is in the outer margin, alongside a passage on the foundation of a church at Ely that occurs within the brief chronicle from the birth of Christ to the reign of King Stephen that opens the manuscript.

Noble knight,

A word to satisfie you, though by reason of a lyttle spring-sicknes I am not in case to write much. The book of Ely I endeavored, what I could, [t]o get for [yo]u; & kept yt also the longer in my hands, that I might [ther]by (at least) give you opportunitie to make that [.]s for yt which I could not. But after long [.] yt was again called for. I must resto[re] yt [.] yt is. I doubt not but you may obtain yt, [for] your workes of Grosted, eyther of my Lord of Durham [or] doctor Lynsell. Among your books in Drury Lane I found none to fyt my turne; & myne of Ryvall I doe much esteem, as (when you see yt) you may iudge [by] my bynding & addition to yt: purposely don to make [y]t fyt for a noble man descended of the founder, whom [a]lso yt may very much concerne in his landes that are lea[.]¹⁹ adioyning to those of that Abbey. Yet yf yt please you [to] bestow on me one of ye bookes I have, wherof you [h]ave another & fayrer Copy (else I would not desire yt [f]rom you) I wyll send you myne. Pardon (Sir) I pray [y]ou, yf loving the Saxon as I doe, & having not a booke of myne owne, I make so bould a request: & yet yf you graunt (though I promyse not) I thinke [y]t wyll one day returne to his fellowes, & carrye [so]me more of that kynde with yt; so far am I from [tho]ught to impaire your so nobly entended Library [of Anti]quities. Now for Sir Legat. I have observed [.]n him my selfe, & all men else that I [questi]on about him doe give him a good reporte; [. . .] sythens of his owne meere motion & love to you and [you]r studyes he seeketh your service, I think you shall doe well to entertain him. Yf you please so to doe, a worde I pray sende me of his employment and [a]llowance that you entende. So my freindly dutye [re]membred, I rest

[. . .]he 28th
1622

Yours to commaunde
Wyll. L'ysle.

[Endorsed:] To my honorable frend Sir Robert Cotton knight at his house by ye new Exchaunge, thes.

¹⁹ There are two consecutive areas of damage here, at the end of one line and the beginning of the next.

Commentary

L'Isle begins by providing further information about his efforts to obtain Lindsell's Ely manuscript for Cotton. He suggests that Cotton will be able to exchange it for one of his own manuscripts, a copy of works by "Grosted", that is, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235–1253). On the possible identity of Cotton's Grosseteste manuscript, see the commentary on Letter 5 below.

L'Isle's next comment, regarding his search among Cotton's books in Drury Lane, is problematic, for Cotton is not otherwise known to have owned property in Drury Lane. L'Isle then goes on to discuss a Rievaulx manuscript of his own, which he proposes to exchange for one of Cotton's manuscripts; from Letter 5 it is clear that L'Isle did indeed send his manuscript to Cotton. The way in which L'Isle here refers to the manuscript indicates that it concerns the abbey's land-holdings. This raises the possibility that the manuscript might be MS Cotton Julius D. i, a late-twelfth-century manuscript which is the only Rievaulx cartulary known to survive,²⁰ and which is listed in the handwritten catalogue of Cotton's manuscripts that was begun in 1621 and continued in the following years.²¹ However, the manuscript contains no annotations by L'Isle that might indicate his one-time ownership, while evidence provided by the antiquary William Dugdale (1605–1686) suggests that L'Isle's manuscript and the Rievaulx cartulary now in the Cottonian collection are not one and the same. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dugdale 48 includes a list of owners of cartularies and other registers relating to English religious houses that Dugdale is believed to have drawn up c. 1649.²² On fol. 63v, under the heading "Reuvalx", Dugdale first entered the name of Thomas Cotton, Sir Robert's son and heir, then, at a later date, added "Mr Wm Lile of Wilburgham in com. Cantabr."²³ Dugdale had evidently become

²⁰ See G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), 92, no. 811.

²¹ London, British Library, MS Harley 6018, fol. 112r (no. 277) and fol. 131v (no. 368). The two entries are sufficiently specific to show that they both refer to MS Julius D. i. This manuscript appears to have been on loan to Richard Gascoigne, the antiquary with a special interest in the history of Yorkshire, in 1623: on a front flyleaf Gascoigne, a known borrower from the Cotton library, has entered a note, dated 8 November 1623, about errors in the foliation of the manuscript.

²² Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, xvi.

²³ Dugdale's "Lile" was misread as "Lite" by Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, 92, no. 812.

aware of L'Isle's manuscript and believed it to be different from the Cottonian one, although, if the presumed date of compilation of MS Dugdale 48 is correct, L'Isle would have been long dead by the time Dugdale made the entry, and his manuscript would have been in other hands. If L'Isle's manuscript is not to be identified as MS Julius D. i, then he must presumably have received it back from Cotton after sending it to him. If that was the case, then a clue to its possible fate is offered by L'Isle's comment in this letter that he has rebound and added to the manuscript in order to "make yt fyt for a noble man descended of the founder." Although Walter Espec (d. 1153), who founded Rievaulx in 1132, had no surviving children, it is clear enough who L'Isle would have regarded as his descendant. Espec's sister Adelina had married Peter, lord de Ros, and in the fifteenth century their only surviving direct descendant, Eleanor, married Robert Manners, whose grandson Thomas was in 1525 made Earl of Rutland and resided at Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire.²⁴ That the earls of Rutland were considered to be Espec's descendants is shown by the genealogy (written by an unidentified early modern hand) inserted at the front of MS Julius D. i. In 1640, the antiquary Roger Dodsworth (1585-1654) saw at Belvoir Castle a parchment manuscript containing an inventory of Rievaulx charters.²⁵ Although the volume cannot now be traced,²⁶ it is possible that this was L'Isle's manuscript and that, after receiving it back from Cotton, and in accordance with the intention at which he hints in this letter, he presented it either to Francis Manners, sixth earl of Rut-

I am most grateful to Prof. Andrew G. Watson for checking MS Dugdale 48 on my behalf.

²⁴ See the entries on members of the Ros and Manners families in the *DNB*, 17: 216-20, 12: 931-42.

²⁵ Dodsworth transcribed portions of the manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 85. See J. C. Atkinson, *Cartularium abbathiae de Rievalle*, Surtees Society 83 (Durham, 1889), 265-77; and Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, 92, no. 813.

²⁶ It is not mentioned as being among the manuscripts at Belvoir Castle in *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1874), 10-12, or in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's subsequent publication, *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols. (London, 1888-1905). From the latter, it is clear that by the late nineteenth century many ancient records at Belvoir Castle were in a perilous state, while some had been destroyed by rodents: see *Manuscripts at Belvoir*, 1: v-vi.

land, or to his brother George, who became seventh earl on Francis's death in 1632.²⁷

The manuscript of Cotton's that L'Isle wished to secure in exchange for his Rievaulx manuscript is not difficult to identify. His comments indicate that it is Anglo-Saxon, that he already has it on loan, and that Cotton has another, "fayrer" copy of the same text. L'Isle is clearly asking for MS Laud Misc. 509, the unillustrated copy of the Old English Hexateuch and Judges; the "fayrer" copy is the illustrated MS Cotton Claudius B. iv. MS Laud Misc. 509 includes on fols. 120v-141v the copy of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* that L'Isle published in his *A Saxon Treatise* of 1623. The same manuscript also served L'Isle as the principal basis for his translation of the Hexateuch and Judges on fols. 2v-116r of his workbook, MS Laud Misc. 381.²⁸ L'Isle must have returned MS Laud Misc. 509 some time after writing this letter (perhaps in exchange for the return of his Rievaulx manuscript), for in Letter 6 he asks to borrow it again.

L'Isle ends his letter with some comments on behalf of one "Sir Legat" who wishes to enter Cotton's service. L'Isle alludes to the same matter in Letters 4 and 5; from Letter 4 it emerges that "Sir Legat" had some hope of election to a Cambridge fellowship. The individual in question is John Legate, who gained his B.A. from Trinity College in 1619-1620 and his M.A. in 1623.²⁹ On 5 May 1622, Legate wrote Cotton an effusive Latin letter (MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 234) in which he praised Cotton's library enthusiastically and offered to serve as Cotton's amanuensis for the transcription of historical texts. There is, however, no evidence that Cotton agreed to employ him, and it would appear that by 1624 Legate had become rector of Welborne, Norfolk.³⁰

LETTER 4

MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 239 (Figure 2). 4 June 1622.

²⁷ If this conjecture is correct, it would mean that Davis's nos. 812 and 813 are one and the same.

²⁸ See Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 303-6.

²⁹ See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 3: 70.

³⁰ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 3: 70.

Sir, I thank you most hartily for your so very kinde letter; & am glad to heare you haue your desier of Ely-Book. For myne owne, I can say no more yet, vntyll I see your Psalmes; bycause I haue had lent me good variety of that kind, & very faire. Yea I haue already taken the paines to compare foure or fiue such Copies together; &, noting the diuers readings in margent, written-out the whole book with my own hand; & lastly so translated yt to the word, that, when yt comes foorth, yt may helpe well to, yf not stand instead-of a Saxon Dictionary. Yet I would entreat, as free from promise of Exchaung, to see that Copie of yours, and yf you please to send yt, I will keep or returne yt to your liking. Of Sir Legat, bycause he writes himself, I need say little: but still I heare good words of him, though small hope of preferment here, whether an Election be or not; & though ther were, & he chosen, yet so I find him deuoted vnto you, that he will not leaue you, being once agreed.

I pray (Sir) commend my loue to Mr Seldon, & tell him, for the matter he spok-of to me last, I find yt thus written in a faire Saxon Chronicle: "Anno millesimo lii°. Her on þissum geare forðferde ælfgiue ymma ædwardes cynges modor 7 hardacnutes cynges", &ct. which shewes plainly, that this Elfgiue, or Elfgyf, & Emme, was one & the same woman. So, my seruice to your good self remembered, I wishe you euer honorably & well to fare. Cambridge 4 Junii 1622.

Your dutifull frend
Wyll. L'isle.

Commentary

L'Isle's opening sentence reveals that by the time of writing, Cotton had received the Ely manuscript mentioned in Letters 2 and 3. The next part of the letter refers to L'Isle's work on the Old English version of the psalms. The psalter of Cotton's that he seeks to borrow could be either MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi or MS Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, both of which seem to have been in Sir Robert's hands by this time.³¹ L'Isle's own transcription and translation of the Old English version of the psalms fills one

³¹ As Dr Tite kindly informs me. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, lv and nos. 199 and 224.

of his notebooks, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 201. He made his transcription from the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1), which he collated against the Cambridge, Arundel, and Stowe Psalters (Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. 1. 23; and London, British Library, MSS Arundel 60 and Stowe 2).³² It is noteworthy that this letter reveals that L'Isle had already completed this work by the summer of 1622. Whether Cotton lent either the Tiberius or the Vitellius Psalter to L'Isle is uncertain; neither manuscript contains any annotations by L'Isle, nor did L'Isle add any readings from either to MS Laud Misc. 201. L'Isle evidently planned to publish his work on the psalms: at the front of MS Laud Misc. 201 is the *imprimatur* of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, dated 3 December 1630.³³ In the event, the project foundered, and the credit for the first edition of the psalms in Old English was to go to John Spelman, whose *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* appeared in 1640 and depended on the same four manuscripts as L'Isle had used — although Spelman chose as his base manuscript not the Eadwine Psalter but the Stowe Psalter, which his father owned.

"Mr Seldon" is John Selden (1584–1654), the learned jurist and parliamentarian, who was the most active user of Cotton's library and who is known to have consulted several of Cotton's Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.³⁴ Queen Emma, the wife of Æthelred II and Cnut and the mother of Edward the Confessor, is mentioned, without reference to her alternative name of Ælfgyva, on p. 61 of Selden's *Jani Anglorum facies altera* (1610) and on pp. 105 and 113 of his *Analecton Anglobritannicon libri duo* (1615) — both published several years before this letter was written. The second reference to Emma in the *Analecton* also establishes that Selden knew that Cnut had a mistress named Ælfgyva of Northampton. L'Isle's "faire Saxon Chronicle" is the Peterborough Chronicle, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636, of which L'Isle himself was the owner; the passage

³² See Pulsiano, "William L'Isle and the Editing of Old English," 185, 198–205.

³³ See David McKitterick, "The Eadwine Psalter Rediscovered," in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, and Richard W. Pfaff (London, 1992), 195–208, here 197–98.

³⁴ For Cotton's loan to him of MS Cotton Claudius B. iv, the illustrated Old English Hexateuch, see Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 287.

quoted occurs on fol. 54v.³⁵ Ironically, Selden had apparently consulted the Peterborough Chronicle several years earlier, for on p. 206 of his *The Historie of Tithes* (1618) he discusses a passage of its annal for 855.³⁶

LETTER 5

MS Harley 7000, fol. 92. 23 July 1622.

Sir, I haue delt effectually with Mr Hacluit & Doctor Cumber to whom the book was enguaged for Trinity Coll. that you may haue yt: I meane the description of Red-Sea-voiage in Spanish or Portuguese rather, as I found it vpon view therof. A very fair manuscript it is, & full of mappes well set-out. You may haue it for your Grosted. Wherefore I pray let me know your mind, & how you like the book of Riual which I sent you by Sir Thomas Palmer, as you directed me by your letters. And somewhat also I pray let me know your minde further concerning Sir Legat: bycause he desires nothing more then to doe you seruice; & is importunate with me for aunswer. So my loue remembred I take leaue Cambridge the 23 of July 1622.

Yours to commaund
Wyll. L'ysle.

[Endorsed:] To my noble frend Sir Robert Cotton knight & Baronet at his house in the new Exchange thes.

Commentary

L'Isle begins by describing how he has acted on Cotton's behalf to secure a manuscript owned by "Mr Hacluit", that is, Edmund Hakluyt, who

³⁵ See *The Peterborough Chronicle: The Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 4 (Copenhagen, 1954), fol. 54v; and *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-1899; repr. 1952), 1: 177.

³⁶ See also Angelika Lutz, "The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the Seventeenth Century and the Establishment of Old English Studies in the Universities," in *The Recovery of Old English*, ed. Graham, 1-82, here 18.

was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1618, and who was the son of Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552–1616), the compiler of the monumental *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, etc.).³⁷ Presumably Edmund inherited the manuscript from his father. “Doctor Cumber” is Thomas Comber, Fellow of Trinity from 1597 and Master 1631–1645 (whose support was to enable Sir Henry Spelman to borrow the Eadwine Psalter from Trinity in 1638).³⁸ Evidently Hakluyt’s original intention was to present his manuscript to Trinity. However, L’Isle has intervened to arrange for Cotton to have it in exchange for his “Grosted” (presumably the same Grosseteste manuscript as is mentioned in Letter 3). Hakluyt’s manuscript is identifiable as MS Cotton Tiberius D. ix, an account by João de Castro of voyages made by the Portuguese between India and Suez, amply illustrated by maps.³⁹ Cotton’s Grosseteste, if he did indeed give it to Trinity, might perhaps be Trinity College MS B. 15. 20, a fourteenth-century copy of miscellaneous works by Grosseteste. There is no record of who gave the manuscript to Trinity, but in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it belonged, in turn, to John Dee (1527–1608), Henry Savile of Banke (1568–1617), and Henry Howard, earl of Northampton (d. 1614).⁴⁰ Cotton was closely associated with Howard from 1603,⁴¹ and is known to have obtained some of his manuscripts and papers: MS Cotton Titus C. vi contains correspondence and other items by Howard, while London, British Library, MS

³⁷ For Edmund Hakluyt, see Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 2: 279.

³⁸ See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1: 377; the entry for Comber in the DNB, 4: 891; and J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A History*, 1: *From the Beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne* (Cambridge, 1986), 200–3.

³⁹ For a possible earlier connection of the manuscript with Sir Walter Raleigh, see Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 4 vols. (London, 1625), 2: 1122 (repr. in 20 vols., Glasgow, 1905; see 7: 236); and C. E. Wright, “The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the Formation of the Cottonian Library,” in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London, 1958), 176–212, here 197.

⁴⁰ See Montague Rhodes James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–1904), 1: 483; Andrew G. Watson, *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969), 10, 20 (no. 16); and *John Dee’s Library Catalogue*, ed. Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1990), 58, 118 (no. M63). (The statement in Roberts and Watson, 118, that MS B. 15. 20 was given to Trinity in 1738 by Roger Gale is incorrect: it is only manuscripts in the “O” category of the Trinity library that fell within Gale’s gift.)

⁴¹ See Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Politics at the Court of James I* (London, 1982), 102–17, esp. 103–4.

Arundel 300, once owned by Cotton, contains a collection of prayers in Howard's hand.⁴² Although MS B. 15. 20 bears no evidence of Cottonian ownership, it seems reasonable to suggest that it may have passed from Howard to Cotton and from him to Trinity.

Sir Thomas Palmer (d. 1656), who delivered L'Isle's Rievaulx manuscript to Cotton, had been an undergraduate of St John's College, Cambridge, in the late 1610s. His brother Herbert was still at Cambridge in the 1620s, and Sir Thomas may have collected the manuscript from L'Isle while on a visit to Cambridge.⁴³

LETTER 6

MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 243 (Figure 3). Undated; datable between c. 1625 and 16 March 1631 (see commentary).

Noble Sir,

An vnexpected opportunitie, of getting well & easly home, made me leave the Cyttie without taking leave; else had I acquainted you therewith. But when I had well rested, & began to follow my accustomed studies, I bethought me of that promyse which before you, & at your request, I made vnto Mr James, concerning my Manuscript of the Caunterbury-story. Yt is one of the fayrest of that kinde which I have seene at any tyme, & hath the Tytle "*Venerabili Domino et Priori*"⁴⁴ *Henrico Dei gratia Abbati Croilandiaë, E. humiliter dictus Monachus de Euisham salutem in salutis Auctore*"; and thus beginneth: "*Virorum illustrium & præsertim Sanctorum vitam & exitum literis tradere satis prouide maiorum nostrorum sanxit auctoritas: hinc enim & Deus laudatur, qui gloriosus est in Sanctis suis, et posteri edificantur laudabili præcedentium exemplo prouocati. Inter hos quasi quidam Lucifer in fine dierum istorum malorum, tanquam in fine cuiusdam tenebrosæ et tēdiosæ*

⁴² See Tite, " 'Lost or Stolen or Strayed'," 118 (273 in the reprint).

⁴³ For both Palmers, see Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 3: 301. Their grandfather Sir Thomas (1540–1626) was still alive at this time, but it is more likely that the younger Sir Thomas was the carrier.

⁴⁴ L'Isle's error for "patri": he misunderstood the abbreviation "pri" in his manuscript source, MS Cotton Vespasian B. xiv, fol. 33r.

noctis effulsit beatus Neomartyr Thomas", &ct. There is ioyned with yt Le Lai de Lannual, & a frenche Cronicle of England, & other like but, more to the purpose, a long frenche Carolle in praise of the man. Yf yt may stead you, or Mr James, let me know your pleasure and I will send yt you; but once againe, for the common good, I must crave awhile the vse of your [le]sser Saxon Pentateuch which I pray you send me by my brother Captain Lisles meanes, or, yf he be at his Castle in Kent (as I think the tyme requires) let some servaunt of yours (I pray Sir) deliver yt, endorsed for me, to Mr Hobson, the surest Carryer of England. And thus awaiting your pleasure, I rest

Your most dutyfull frend
Wyll. L'yse.

Commentary

The greater part of the letter concerns a manuscript of L'Isle's that he offers to send to Cotton. The "Mr James" to whom, in Cotton's presence, L'Isle had promised the manuscript is Richard James (1592–1638), who from c. 1625 was Cotton's librarian.⁴⁵ The mention of James shows that the letter must have been written some time after James's appointment; on the other hand, it evidently preceded Letter 7, of 16 March 1631, which mentions L'Isle's retention of the manuscript that he here requests from Cotton.

L'Isle provides sufficiently detailed information about the manuscript he proposes to send to Cotton to enable it to be identified as MS Cotton Vespasian B. xiv, a late-thirteenth-century volume whose medieval provenance is unknown. The text to which L'Isle refers as the "Caunterbury-story" is the account of the life of Thomas Becket written for Henry de Longchamp, abbot of Crowland (1190–1236), by Elias of Evesham. This text, known to modern scholars as the *Quadrilogus*, occupies fols. 33r–95r of the manuscript.⁴⁶ Marie de France's *Lanval* is on fols 1r–8v.⁴⁷ L'Isle's

⁴⁵ On the date of James's appointment, see Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, 57–60. For details of James's life, see the entry for him in the DNB, 10: 655–57.

⁴⁶ The *Quadrilogus* is printed in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. James Craigie Robertson, Rolls Series 67, 7 vols. (London, 1875–1885), 4: 266–430; for Elias's prefatory letter to Henry, see 425–26. See further Robertson's

"frenche Cronicle of England" is a version of the prose *Brut* chronicle, covering the period from the reign of King Ecgberht (802–39) to the death of Richard I (1199), on fols. 8v–18r.⁴⁸ Between this and the beginning of the *Quadriologus*, and corresponding to L'Isle's "other like", are a Latin poem on the Fall of Troy (fol. 18rv) and a collection of sixty-two *Fables* by Marie de France (fols. 19r–32v).⁴⁹ The "long frenche Carolle in praise of" Thomas Becket is the verse life of Becket written c. 1184 by Beneit of St Albans (fols. 95v–113r).⁵⁰ At the top of fol. 1r of the manuscript, L'Isle entered his name in the form "Gulielmus de Insula".

L'Isle concludes his letter with a request to borrow once again Cotton's "lesser Saxon pentateuch", that is, MS Laud Misc. 509.⁵¹ His remark that he required it "for the common good" alludes to his intention to publish its text (see also the commentary on Letter 7 below). "Captain Lisle" is L'Isle's younger brother Edmund, who was captain of Walmer Castle in Kent; William L'Isle was himself buried at Walmer, where there is a monument to him and his brother in the church. "Mr Hobson" is Thomas Hobson the carrier (c. 1544–1631), who ran a regular delivery service between Cambridge and London.⁵² He is well known as the originator of "Hobson's choice" (which was no choice at all); his death was commem-

comments in his Introduction, xix–xxiii; Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, Rolls Series 26, 3 vols. in 4 (London, 1862–1871), 2: 342–44; and Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), 301.

⁴⁷ See H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1883–1910), 1: 415.

⁴⁸ See Diana B. Tyson, "Handlist of Manuscripts Containing the French Prose *Brut* Chronicle," *Scriptorium* 48 (1994): 333–44, here 342.

⁴⁹ See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 1: 31–32, and 2: 307.

⁵⁰ For the text, see *La Vie de Thomas Becket par Beneit: poème anglo-normand du XII^e siècle publié d'après tous les manuscrits*, ed. Börje Schlyter, *Études romanes de Lund* 4 (Lund, 1941). See also Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 2: 355–56; and E. Walberg, *La Tradition hagiographique de saint Thomas Becket avant la fin du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), 9–33. I am warmly grateful to Prof. Jean-Claude Thiolier for helping me to identify this text and the *Brut* chronicle, and for providing me with bibliographical references.

⁵¹ L'Isle also referred to MS Laud Misc. 509 as Cotton's "lesser copie of the Saxon Pentateuch" on the title page of his *A Saxon Treatise*.

⁵² See the entry for Hobson in the DNB, 9: 946.

orated in two epitaphs by John Milton and in a third more dubiously attributed to Milton.⁵³

LETTER 7

MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 242. 16 March 1630/1.

Right noble knight,

Yf you haue remembred me to your kindred of Pamfeild-house, I pray let me heare from you whether there be any hope for me to obtaine that booke, or not; the other, which I promised to helpe your sonne to, Mr Hagar saith I shall borrow whensoever I will take paines to come for yt; as I entend very shortly, god willing, now the weather sets-in faire, & the wayes mend apace. In such a season may a student well trauell; but I would haue this Lent first ouerpast, an yll tyme to visit freinds in.

The Faire Æthiopian, now almost ready for the presse, in forme of an Heroïck English poëme, longs to be lookt-vpon by the ladies that readde her Historye with you in frenche prose. Such is my studye somtymes to refresh my sadder Muses: and this worke I know the printers will readily entertain, while the Saxon Bible & Chronicles lye dead by me; which makes me keep your Pentateuch the longer. Yet, for the Dictionarye of that Dialect, which you know how great & learned men desire me to set-out; that, which Archimedes did in prose, let me aunswer in verse:

Δός μοι ποῦ στήσω καὶ κόσμον πάντα κινήσω.

A Dictionarye is a Theater of the whole worlde.

So my service remembred to your noble self, & yours I rest

Chesterton 16 Marche
1630.

Your dutifull frende
Wyll. L'ysle.

⁵³ For all three epitaphs, see *The Complete English Poetry of John Milton*, ed. John T. Shawcross (New York, 1963), 67–70, 550–52.

Commentary

Cotton's "kindred of Pamfeild-house" are the Cottons of Panfield Hall in Essex. They represented a senior branch of the family; their forebears, of Ridware in Staffordshire, had acquired Panfield Hall by marriage in the second half of the fifteenth century. Anthony Cotton (d. 1666), heir to this branch, matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1622.⁵⁴ Sir Robert belonged to a younger branch of the Ridware Cottons. The book that L'Isle wished to obtain from Cotton's kinsmen cannot be identified, as L'Isle provides no specific information about it. The same is true of the book that he here offers to procure for Cotton's son, i.e., Sir Thomas Cotton (1592–1662), Sir Robert's only surviving child, who inherited the Cotton library on his father's death in May 1631 and increased its holdings.⁵⁵ The "Mr Hagar" from whom L'Isle planned to obtain the book was perhaps James Haggard, who gained his Cambridge M.A. in 1627 and was appointed curate of Barrington, Cambridgeshire, in 1630.⁵⁶

The Faire Æthiopian was L'Isle's translation, in iambic pentameters, of the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus, a third-century Greek romance popular in the early modern period for its entertainment value and high moral tone. L'Isle's translation was published in 1631, the same year in which this letter was written; the title page of the work reveals that it was printed by J. Haviland "at the authors charge."⁵⁷ L'Isle's reference to "the ladies that readde her Historye with you in frenche prose" reminds us that Cotton's residence was the home of lively social and literary gatherings.⁵⁸ The French version of Heliodorus that the group of women read may have been the prose translation of J. de Montlayard, accompanied by engravings, which appeared at Paris in 1624: *Les Amours de Théagène et Chariclée*:

⁵⁴ See Frederick Charles Cass, *East Barnet* (London, 1892), 108 and the genealogical table on 107; and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1: 402. See also Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 1768), 2: 406.

⁵⁵ There is a notice of the life of Sir Thomas Cotton at the end of the DNB entry on Sir Robert, 4: 1238–39. For acquisitions by Sir Thomas and the development of the Cotton library after Sir Robert's death, see Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, 51; and Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, 25–33.

⁵⁶ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 2: 280.

⁵⁷ STC 13047.

⁵⁸ See Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, 202–3, although Sharpe here alludes only to gatherings hosted by Cotton in the late 1590s and early 1600s.

histoire éthiopique d'Héliodore.⁵⁹ L'Isle contrasts his high hopes of securing a printer for *The Faire Æthiopian* with his evidently harsh experience with "the Saxon Bible & Chronicles", that is, his projected editions of those portions of the Bible for which Old English versions existed and of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. He had first announced his intention of publishing the Old English biblical material in the preface to his *A Saxon Treatise* of 1623.⁶⁰ His two workbooks now in the Bodleian Library, MSS Laud Misc. 201 and 381, contain his handwritten transcriptions and translations of Old Testament material. Both workbooks include, at the beginning, L'Isle's attempts at drafting title pages for the planned publication; MS Laud Misc. 201, as noted above, even includes the 1630 *imprimatur* of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University.⁶¹ His comment in this letter, however, indicates that he was unable to find a printer to take on the project. Bearing in mind that *The Faire Æthiopian* was printed "at the authors charge", one can perhaps conclude that L'Isle lacked the financial resources that would have enabled him to see his Old English biblical work through the press. The project would, of course, have required the use of an Anglo-Saxon font, which would have entailed specialist skill and, no doubt, considerable expense; potential printers might also have been discouraged by the likelihood that the audience to which a publication in Old English might appeal would be small. Nonetheless, L'Isle's comment in this letter that he needs to continue to retain Cotton's "Pentateuch", i.e., MS Laud Misc. 509, implies his commitment to persist in trying to bring the project to publication. L'Isle never did return the manuscript, for, along with his two workbooks, it passed into the Laudian collection following his own death in 1637. L'Isle's work on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may not have reached as advanced a stage as his biblical project, for there is no evidence that he made a full transcription of the Chronicle or attempted a translation. He did, however, interleave the original pages of the Peterborough Chronicle with larger paper leaves, and

⁵⁹ See V. F. Goldsmith, *A Short Title Catalogue of French Books 1601–1700 in the Library of the British Museum* (Folkestone and London, 1973), 246.

⁶⁰ See sigs. b1r, b4r, and e3r.

⁶¹ For further discussion of these title pages and of L'Isle's intentions to publish, see Stuart Lee, "Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 381: William L'Isle, Ælfric, and the *Ancrene Wisse*," in *The Recovery of Old English*, ed. Graham, 207–42, here 212–15; and Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 306–9.

on those paper leaves as well as on the original leaves he entered variant readings and additional passages that he found in two other copies of the Chronicle, MS Cotton Otho B. xi and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173.⁶² This work could have served as the basis for an edition.

The final portion of L'Isle's letter alludes to the Old English dictionary that others desired him to produce. No Old English lexicographical materials of L'Isle's are known to survive. However, a comment by Sir William Boswell (d. 1649), English ambassador at The Hague, implies that L'Isle made significant progress towards compiling a dictionary. In a letter written to the antiquary Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650) on 18 December 1636, Boswell writes:⁶³ "I should long or' this, haue sent you a Transcript of the Saxon Vocabularie, you had once of mee; but that It is collected, only out of the 4. Euangelists, & one or two other small things, printed in that tongue; & farr short of a Dictionarie wth (our honorable frend:) S^r Thomas Cotton, made by Jocelinis; (Sec^{tie} sometime to Mathewe Parker ArchBp. of Canterb: & Compiler of Antiquitates Ecclesiae Britannicae:) And one, of another Dictionarie, w^{ch} I did think, M^r Lisle (of the Isle of Ely:) whom I think you know to be extraordinarily skilfull in that language;) would haue printed long since, of his owne gathering."⁶⁴ Boswell's statement, given its loose syntax and idiosyncratic punctuation, is difficult to parse; when he mentions L'Isle's dictionary, it is unclear whether he is apologizing for failing to send D'Ewes a transcript of it as well as one of his own "Saxon Vocabularie", or whether he means that his "Vocabularie" is much shorter than L'Isle's dictionary as well as Joscelyn's. L'Isle's Greek quotation in his letter to Cotton is his adaptation

⁶² L'Isle's inserted paper leaves were not included in the facsimile of the Peterborough Chronicle edited by Dorothy Whitelock as vol. 4 of *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* (above n. 35). For L'Isle's work on the Chronicle, see also Lutz, "The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the Seventeenth Century," 20, 23, and Pulsiano, "William L'Isle and the Editing of Old English," 192–97.

⁶³ London, British Library, MS Harley 374, fol. 92v. I here reproduce the spelling and punctuation exactly as they are in the manuscript. The complete letter has been printed, with adjustments to the spelling and punctuation, in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society 23 (London, 1843), 152.

⁶⁴ The dictionary by John Joscelyn to which Boswell refers is MSS Cotton Titus A. xv–xvi. Boswell also alludes to Joscelyn's role in compiling material for Matthew Parker's *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae & priuilegiis ecclesiae Cantuariensis, cum archiepiscopis eiusdem* 70 (London, 1572; STC 19292).

of the words attributed to Archimedes by Pappus of Alexandria in his *Synagoge*: δός μοι ποῦ στῶ καὶ κινῶ τὴν γῆν [Give me a place to stand and I will move the earth].⁶⁵ L'Isle versifies the passage by changing the vocabulary, word order, and tenses of the Greek, and by introducing rhyme; his version means "Give me a place to stand and I will move the whole world." The quotation, coupled with his comment that "A Dictionary is a Theater of the whole worlde", probably alludes to the frustrations he experienced in his lexicographical work, in the course of which the ground must have appeared to shift beneath his feet as he encountered fresh words or uncovered additional attestations that required him to refine his conclusions about the meanings of words. His facility in modifying Pappus's Greek to his own ends recalls how, when transcribing English vernacular texts of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he was not above introducing adjustments to make the language appear more like "authentic" Old English⁶⁶ — a characteristic which has acquired him some notoriety, but which should not be allowed to obscure the genuine strengths of his achievement as an Anglo-Saxonist.

⁶⁵ See *Pappi Alexandrini collectiones quae supersunt*, ed. Friedrich Hultsch, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1876–1878), 3: 1060. L'Isle quoted the same words of Archimedes, in Latin translation, in the preface to his *A Saxon Treatise*, sig. c3v.

⁶⁶ See A. S. Napier, "The 'Ancræn Riwe'," *Modern Language Review* 4 (1908–1909): 433–36; Fred C. Robinson, *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English* (Oxford, 1993), 280; Pulsiano, "William L'Isle and the Editing of Old English," 187–91; Lee, "Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 381," 208, 225–31; and Graham, "Early Modern Users of Claudius B. iv," 296–300.

V. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Figure 1. Section of Sir Robert Cotton's loan list of April 1621.

The three items listed as being on loan to 'Mr Lyll of Cambridge' are Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 509, and London, British Library, MSS Cotton Otho B. xi and Cotton Claudius B. iv. London, British Library, MS Harley 6018, fol. 148v. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

239 141
239

S^r, I thank you most hartly for yo^r so very kinde letter, & am glad
to heare yo^r have yo^r deher of *Elfr* Book. For myne owne, I can say
no more yet. In myll I see yo^r *Elfr* ; because I haue had
sent me good variety of that kind, & very faire: yea I haue
already taken the paines to compare foure or five such Copies
together, & noting the diuers readings in margin, written out
the whole booke in my own hand; & lastly so translated it to the
word, that, when yt comes forth, it may helpe wel to, if not
stand in stead of a Saxon Dictionary. Yet I would not rest
as free from promise of Exchaunge, to see that Copie of yo^r.
and if yo^r please to send yt, I will keep or returne yt to
your liking. Of S^r Legat, because he writes himselfe I need say
little: But still I heare good words of him, though small hope
of preferment here, whether an Election be or not: & though
ther were, & he chosen; yet so I find him deuoted vnto you,
that he will not leave you, being once agreed.
I pray (S^r) commend my loue to Mr Sclat, & tell him for
the matter he spak of to me last. I find yt thus written
in a faire Saxon Chronicle: Anno. 811. li. hep on pistum
zeape forðfende ælfgine ymma ædparðer cynges modor
7 hapdæcnutes cynges. &c. which shewes plainly, that, *Elfr*
gine, or *Elfgyt*, & *Emme*, was one & the same woman.
So my service to yo^r good self remembred, I wishe you
honorably & well to fare. Cant. 4. Junij. 1622.

Your dutifull frond
W^m Lisle.

Figure 2. L'Isle's letter to Cotton of 4 June 1622 (Letter 4),
written in L'Isle's italic hand.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius C. iii, fol. 239.

Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

INDEX

- Abdon and Sennen, Saints 39
 Abingdon, 36, 104-5, 108-9
 Achitophel and Absalom 34
Acta Sanctorum 167-86
 Adoration of the Magi 43-44
 Adrian, Saint, *passio* 346
 Ælfric 51-65, 212, 311; as grammarian 13-29; *Catholic Homilies* 13-29, 32-34, 51-65, 273, 276-77, 289-90, 341; *Colloquy* 308; *First Latin Letter to Wulfstan* 266-67, 275; *Grammar* 25-27, 31, 301-9; *Hexameron* 214; homily on Judges 353, 356-58; *Letter to Brother Edward* 263-83; *Letter to Sigefyrð* 277, 285-300; *Letter to Sige-weard* 267-68, 353, 356-58, 364; *Letter for Wulfsig* 276-77; *Lives of Saints* 31-50, 276, 341; *Life of St Oswald* 248; manuscript transmission 14-16, 217; prose style 249-50, 264-65; *Sanctorale* 31-50; schooldays 301-9; *Temporale* 52-65; use of poetic vocabulary 21-22; use of sources 31-65
 Ælfric Bata 308
 Æthelberht, king 101
 Æthelmær, *thegn* 35, 49
 Æthelred, king 3, 49; law code 316, 366
 Æthelthryth, Saint 47
 Æthelweard, ealdorman 2, 35, 49, 277
 Æthelwold 28, 37, 42, 47, 48, 50, 113, 220; *Benedictional* of 31-50; *Life of* 42; as teacher 301-9; translation of *Regula S. Benedicti* 46
 Aidan, Saint 97-98
 Alban, Saint 39, 96
 Alcuin, 58; *Letter to Ethelred* 270; *Life of St Vedastus* 42; *Commentaria in Ioannis* 59-60
 Aldhelm, *De virginitate* 40
 Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln 112
 Alfred 135-49, 151-66; *Preface to Gregory's Cura Pastoralis* 102, 142-44; *Law Codes* 78-79; translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies* 140-42; translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* 137-40, 157-61; translation of the *Psalms* 143-44
 alliteration 325-26
Altercatio magistri et discipuli 307, 309
 Amalarius 52
 Amandus, Saint 34
 Ambrose, Saint 38, 41-42
Ancrene Riwe 120
 Anderson Pontifical 43, 46
Andreas 1-12, 260
 Anglian dialect 220-21
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 23, 91-92,

- 322-23, 353-54; poems of
247-48
- Anglo-Saxon insular minuscule
114-15, 212-16
- Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 136-37
- anonymous Old English homilies
201-10, 211-44
- antiquarians, sixteenth-century
31-32, 285-300, 353-76
- apocryphal motifs 1, 222-24
- Apollinaris, Saint 39
- archaism 119-20
- Archimedes 376
- Arthur, king 119-31 *passim*
- Ashburnham House (fire of 1731)
289, 357
- Assmann, B. 277-78, 288-89, 299
- Audoenus, Saint 34
- Audomarus, Saint 34
- Augustine, Saint 35, 41, 52; In
Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus
59-62; (pseudo-Augustine) *Ser-
mones ad fratres in eremo* 73;
OE translation of Augustine's
Soliloquies 140-42, 152-66
passim
- Augustine of Canterbury, Saint
46
- authorship 144
- Ball, C. J. E. 140-41
- Bamburgh 98
- baptism of Christ 43-44
- Barley, Nigel 275-76
- Basilissa, Saint 38
- Basilus, Saint 38
- Bately, Janet 143
- Bath 37, 44, 47
- Battle of Maldon 5, 97, 144
- Bayeux Tapestry 99, 271
- Becket, Thomas 355; life of 370-
71
- Bede 52, 58, 62-64; In *Marci
Evangelium Expositio* 63; trans-
lation of *Ecclesiastical History*
145, 153-66 *passim*, 357
- 'Be Heofonwarum and be Helwar-
um' 211-44
- Belvoir Castle 363-64
- Benedict, Saint 32, 40, 42-46
- Benedictional of Æthelwold 31-
50
- Benedictions 31-50; Gallican 49;
Gregorian 49
- Benedictine Reform 51-65, 102;
see also 13-50
- Beneit of St Albans, life of Becket
371
- Beowulf 1, 9, 81-100, 136, 144,
147, 259-60
- Bertin, Saint 32; life of 346
- Bethurum, Dorothy 311-40 *passim*
- bilingualism 101-17
- Blaise, Saint 350
- Blickling Homilies 285
- Boethius, Old English version of
The Consolation of Philosophy
137-40, 157-66 *passim*
- Boniface, Saint 351
- Boswell, William, ambassador 375
- Bright, James W. 143
- Brock, Sebastian 76
- Brut, *The* 119-31, 371
- Burgess, Glyn 121
- Bury St Edmunds 104-5
- Bush, Douglas 148
- Byrhtnoth, Ealdorman of Essex 97

- Caedmon 146
 Cable, Thomas 248
 calendars 33-39
 Cameron List of texts 245-56
Canones Adomnani 268-69
Canons of Edgar 269
Canones Wallici 270
 Canterbury 42
 Canterbury Benedictional 42, 46
 Carnicelli, Thomas 140-42
 chapters in Old English manuscripts 151-66
 charters 101-17
 Chaucer, *Miller's Tale* 131
 Chretien de Troyes 130
Christ and Satan 260
 Christ Church, Canterbury 104-8
 Christopher, Saint 167-99
 Claudius of Turin 58
 Clemoes, Peter 12-29 *passim*, 59, 264
 Cnut, king 366
 codicology 285-300, 341-52
 Comber, Thomas 368
 consumption of animals 268-69
 coronation of kings 37, 44
 Cottam cemetery 95
 Cotton-Corpus Legendary 37-50, 341-52
 Cotton, Sir Robert, antiquary 293-94, 297-99, 353-76; family of 373
 Cotton, Thomas, antiquary 362, 373, 375
 courtesy, terms for 119-31
 Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury 293
 Crisanthus and Daria, Saints, 39-40
 Cross, James E. 57, 252
 Cuthbert, Saint 38, 42, 44-46, 351
 Cynewulf 1-12, 146
 Cyril of Alexandria *De exitu animi, et de secundo adventu* 77
 Danish-English customs 263-83
Death of Alfred 247-48
Death of Edgar 247-48
 decapitation 94-100
De paenitentia 68-70
De raris fabuli 305
 Deshman, Robert 48
 D'Ewes, Sir Simonds 375
 dictionary-making 375-76
Dicts of Cato 291
 Donatus, *Ars maior* 304
 Dionysius, Saint 35, 39
 Dodsworth, Roger, antiquary 363-64
 Dugdale, William, antiquary 362-63
 Durham 97
Durham 248
 Eadwine Psalter 353, 366-68
 Earl, James W. 146
 Eble, Connie 25
 Edgar, king 37, 44, 47, 50; *Death of Edgar* 247-48
 editing Old English 135-49, 151-66, 201-10, 225, 245-62, 274-83, 311-40; editing *L'Isle* 355
 Edmund, Saint 39, 96-97
 Edward the Confessor 103, 107
 Einarr Helgason, poet 9
 Einkel, E. 169
 Elias of Evesham, life of Becket 370-71

- Elizabeth I 295-96
 Elstob, Elizabeth 31
 Ely 97, 104-6, 108-9, 359-60, 365
 Emma, Queen 366
 Ephrem the Syrian 68, 76, 80
 Epiphany, feast of 43-44
 Espec, Walter, founder of Rievaulx 363
 Eugenia, Saint, *vita* and masses of 37, 39, 41
 Evesham 108-9
Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberti 269-70
 Exeter Book 315
Exhortation to Christian Living 248, 252-62
*explicit*s 151-66
- Faith, Saint, *passio* 345
 Felix of Crowland, *Vita s. Guthlaci* 201-10
 Firmin, Saint, *passio* 346
 Fjólfnir, king 9
 Flemish saints 32-50 *passim*
Fontes Anglo-Saxonici 51, 102
 fonts, Anglo-Saxon 374-75
 formula in Old English prose 313-40
 Förster, Max 57
Fortunes of Men 90
 Forty Soldiers 34
 Foucault, Michel 144-45
 Fowler, Roger 312
 Fulk, R. D. 251, 261
 Funke, Otto 250
 Francia 34
 Frank, Roberta 258
 Frankish saints 41-43
- Franzen, Christine 315
- Geisel, Ida 205, 208
 generic classification 245-62
 Genesis A 90, 260
 Genesis B 259
 Geoffrey of Monmouth 121
 George, Saint 38
 Getulius, Saint, *passio* 343
 Giles, Saint 351
 Glastonbury 36
 Gneuss, Helmut 27-28
 Godden, Malcolm 56, 59
 Godeman, abbot of Thorney 50;
 see also *Benedictional of Æthelwold*
 Gonser, P. 201-9
 Goodwin, C. W. 201
 Grant, R. J. 163-64
 Greek 375-76
- Gregory the Great 41-42, 44-46, 52-53, 61; *Cura Pastoralis* 102, 142-44, 152-66 *passim*; Old English translation of the *Dialogues* 152-66 *passim*
 Grettis saga 93
 Griffiths, Bill 138
 Grimbald, Saint 34
 Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln 362, 368-69
 Guthlac, Saint, 351; Old English homily 201-10
- Hadrian, Pope 270-71
 Haggard, James, curate of Barrington 373
 hagiography 341-52
 hairstyles, Danish and Anglo-Saxon 263-83

- Haki, legendary sea-king 5
 Hakluyt, Edmund 367-68
 Hakluyt, Richard, *Principall Navigations* 368
 Hall, J. R., critic 4
 Hallfreðr vandræðaskald, poet 3
 Haymo of Auxerre 52-55, 61
 Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 373
 "hende" 119-31
 Herzfeld, G. 169
Hexateuch, Old English 90, 353, 356-58
 Hiberno-Latin influences 222-24, 268-69
Hibernensis 268-69
 Hickes, George, 31
 Hobson, Thomas, carrier 371-72
 Hofstetter, Walter 27-28, 220-21
 Holthausen, F. 205-8
 homilies 13-50, 51-65, 67-80, 201-10, 211-44, 285-300; *see also* Ælfric, anonymous, Blickling, Vercelli, Wulfstan
Horrible Histories 99
 Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton 368-69
 Hrabanus Maurus 58

 Iconography 43-50
incipits 151-66
 injunctions against eating blood 263-83
Instructions for Christians 256
 Iorwerth, Latin teacher of Ælfric 307-9
 Isidore of Seville *Liber synonymorum* 290-91; *Synonyma sive lamentatio animae peccatricis* 72; (pseudo-Isidore) *Sermo* III 73
 Iudoc, Saint 32, 34
 James, Richard, librarian 293, 298-99, 370
 James, Saint 39-40
 Jerome, Saint 41, 52; *Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraeorum* 63-64
 John of Wallingford 272
 Jordan, R. 220
 Joscelyn, John 288-89, 294, 375
 Jost, Karl 312, 319
 Judgement Day 67, 222-24, 250-51
Judgement Day II 248, 257
 "Judgement of the Damned" 251
 Judic, Bruno 142-43
 Julian and Basilissa, saints 38-41
 Julian of Eclanum, *Commentary on Psalms* 143
Juliana 258

 Kennings 3
 Kentish 22, 221
 Ker, Neil 167-68, 320-21, 342, 344-45
 Kern 205
 Kiernan, Kevin 138
King Horn 130
 Kings (Book of) 34
 Kluge, F. 263-64, 274
 Kormakr, poet 5
 Kuhn's Laws 245-62 *passim*

 Laȝamon 119-31
 Lambert, Saint, life of 346
 land tenure 112-17
 Lapidge, Michael 32
 late West Saxon 217-21

- Latin, as taught language 25-27,
 301-9; spoken language 304-9
 law codes 78-79, 316
 legal documentation 101-17
 Legate, John, rector of Welborne
 364
 Le Saux, Françoise 120
 lexicography 375-76
Liber Eliensis 359
Liber Monstrorum 85
 Liebermann, Felix 312
 Life of St Machutus, anonymous
 Old English 28-29
 Lindsell, Augustine, Fellow of
 Clare Hall 359-60, 362
 L'Isle, Edmund 371
 L'Isle, William 31, 353-76; *Faire
 Aethiopian* 373-75; and Greek
 375-76; *A Saxon Treatise on
 the Old and New Testament*
 353, 360, 364, 374
 liturgical practices 31-50, 342

 Macarius homily 68-74
 Maccabees 34, 39
 Madden, Frederic 131
 Manners, Thomas, Earl of Rut-
 land 363

MANUSCRIPTS:
Boulogne-sur-Mer
 Bibliothèque Nationale 63 (homi-
 lies) 275;

Cambridge
 University Library Ff. 1. 23 (Cam-
 bridge Psalter) 366; CUL Gg.
 3. 28 (Ælfric) 15-29; CUL li.
 2. 11 (homilies) 296-97; CUL
 li. 1. 33 (homilies) 71-72;
 CUL Mm. 4. 19 (writs) 105
 Corpus Christi College 9 (Cotton-
 Corpus Legendary) 37; CCCC
 162 (homilies) 46, 71, 263-83;
 CCCC 173 (*Parker Chronicle*)
 375; CCCC 178 (homilies,
 with CCCC 162) 263-83;
 CCCC 188 (homilies) 15-29;
 CCCC 189 (cartulary) 107-8;
 CCCC 198 (homilies) 296;
 CCCC 201 (homilies, laws)
 68, 250, 314-40; CCCC 302
 (homilies) 211-44, 290
 Trinity College B. 15. 20 (Grosse-
 teste) 368-69; Trinity College
 O. 2. 1 (*Liber Eliensis*) 106;
 Trinity College R. 17. 1 (Ead-
 wine Psalter) 366-67

Canterbury
 Cathedral Reg P (cartulary) 107-
 8; Chart Ant C 3 (writ) 107

Copenhagen
 Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1595
 (Wulfstan collection) 323

Dublin
 Trinity College 174 (legendary)
 350

Le Havre
 Bibliothèque Municipale 330
 (New Minster Missal) 41

London, British Library
 Additional 15350 (*Codex Winto-
 niensis*) 113-14; Additional

- 36789 (Cotton catalogue) 293-94; Additional 49598 (Benedictional of Æthelwold) 37-50; Additional 57337 (Anderson Pontifical) 43, 46
- Arundel 60 (Arundel Psalter) 366; Arundel 300 (Henry Howard's prayers) 369
- Cotton Caligula A. ix (Lazamon's *Brut*) 119-31; Cotton Claudius A. iii (gospel book) 107; Cotton Claudius B. iv (Old English *Hexateuch*) 356-58, 364; Cotton Claudius B. vi (cartulary) 104-5; Cotton Claudius C. ix (cartulary) 104-5, 109; Cotton Cleopatra C. viii (*Psychomachia*) 99; Cotton Domitian A. xv (*Liber Eliensis*) 360; Cotton Faustina A. ix (homilies) 211-44, 290; Cotton Julius C. iii (L'Isle's letters) 354-76; Cotton Julius D. i (Rievaulx cartulary) 362-64; Cotton Nero A. i (homilies, laws, etc.) 315-40; Cotton Nero E. i (Cotton-Corpus Legendary) 37; Cotton Otho A. vi (Alfred's Boethius) 137-40; Cotton Otho B. ii (OE *Cura Pastoralis*) 142-44; Cotton Otho B. x (saints' lives) 167-99; Cotton Otho B. xi (Old English *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, etc.) 357, 375; Cotton Otho C. xiii (Lazamon's *Brut*) 119-31; Cotton Tiberius A. iii (OE prose extract of Augustine's *Soliloquies*) 141; Cotton Tiberius B. xi (OE *Cura Pastoralis*) 142-44; Cotton Tiberius C. vi (psalter) 365-66; Cotton Tiberius D. ix (account of sixteenth-century voyages) 368; Cotton Titus C. vi (Henry Howard's correspondence) 368-69; Cotton Vespasian B. xiv (*Quadrilogus*) 370-71; Cotton Vespasian B. xxiv (cartulary) 109; Cotton Vespasian D. xiv (homilies) 285-300; Cotton Vespasian D. xxi (*Life of Guthlac*) 201; Cotton Vitellius A. xv (Alfred's translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*, *Passion of St Christopher*) 140-41, 167-99; Cotton Vitellius C. v (homilies) 289-90; Cotton Vitellius D. vii (Joscelyn's collection) 288-89; Cotton Vitellius E. xviii (psalter) 365-66
- Harley 603 (Harley Psalter) 95, 99; Harley 2892 (Canterbury Benedictional) 42, 46; Harley 6018 (Cotton catalogue) 294, 357; Harley 7000 (L'Isle's correspondence) 354-76
- Royal 7. C. xii (Ælfric) 14-29
- Stowe 2 (Stowe Psalter) 366
- London, Lambeth Palace 692 (Nowell's word-list) 293,
- Orlèans
Bibliothèque Municipale 127 (105) (Winchcombe Sacramentary) 41

Oxford

Bodleian Library, Bodley 180
(Alfred's *Boethius*) 137-40

Dugdale 48 (lists of cartulary
owners) 362-63

Hatton 20 (OE *Cura Pastoralis*)
142-44; Hatton 113 (homi-
liary) 70, 314-15; Hatton 115
(homiliary) 92, 263-83; Hatton
116 (homiliary) 263-83

Laud Misc. 201 and 381 (L'Isle's
notebooks) 353-76; Laud Misc.
509 (Hexateuch, homilies)
356-68, 371, 374; Laud Misc.
636 (*Peterborough Chronicle*)
353-54, 366-67, 374-75

St John's College 194 (gospel
book) 105,

Paris

Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824
(Paris Psalter) 143-44; lat.
12052 (Sacramentary of Ratol-
dus) 42

Rochester

Cathedral A. 3. 5 (*Textus Roffen-
sis*) 106-8

Rouen

Bibliothèque Municipale 274 (Y6)
(Robert of Jumièges Sacramen-
tary) 41

Salisbury

Salisbury Cathedral 221 and 222
(version of Cotton-Corpus Leg-
endary) 341-52, Salisbury 223
(legendary) 350-51

manuscript pointing 319-21

Mark, Saint, the Evangelist 38,
40; *passio* of 344

Marie de France, *Fables* 371;
Lanval 370

Marquardt, Hertha, critic 4
marriage, clerical 285-300

Martin, Saint, Life of 34

Mary Magdalene, Saint 48

Matthias, Saint 350

Matthew, Saint, *passio* 346

Maurice, Saint 34

Mauricius, Saint 39

Maurus, Saint 38

McDougall, Ian 315

McIntosh, Angus 247-53, 261,
311, 319-20

Metaphors in poetry 1-12

Middle English 119-31; *Dictionary*
127-28

Milton, John 371-72

Momma, Haruko 248-49, 251

Monarchy, conceptions of 44

Monasticism, practices of 31-50

Monster of Hell motif 222-23

Morte Arthur 130

Muspilli 75

Napier, Arthur 312, 322

Neile, Richard, bishop of Durham
359-60

New Minster Missal 41

Nicholas, Saint 351

Night imagery 5-6

"no aid from kin" motif 67-74

non-West Saxon 217-21

Norman Conquest 103

Norman hairstyles 271-72

nouns, Old English 20-23

- Nowell, Laurence *Vocabularium* 293
- Oakden, J. P. 120
- O'Brien O'Keefe, Katherine 91
- O'Neill, Patrick P. 143
- Odin, Odin's mead 3, 9, 10
- Olaf Tryggvason 3
- Old Dairy Cottage cemetery 94-95
- Old English prose life of Andrew, 7
- Old English language and grammar 13-29, 101-17; words for "rank" 111; words denoting type of will 111-12
- Old Norse 1-11
- Olsen, Karin 5
- Orchard, Andy 250
- Origen 64
- Orosius, Old English translation 145, 154-66 *passim*
- orthography, Old English 318-19
- Oswald, Saint 39, 97-98
- Otfried *Evangelienbuch* 75
- Owen-Crocker, Gale 271
- palaeography 212-17
- Palmer, Thomas and Herbert 369
- Panther, The 258
- Pappus of Alexandria 375-76
- Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury 31, 215, 288; circle of 353, 375; *A Defence of priestes marriages* 295-96; *Testimonie of Antiquitie* 294-300
- Passion of St Christopher* 167-99
- Patrick, Saint 351
- Paul the Deacon 54-55, 57-65
- Percy, Thomas 2
- Peterborough 301
- Philip and James the Less, saints 40
- Pilch, H. 202-9
- Pope, John 16, 20-21, 52, 57, 61, 249-50, 263-66, 272-76
- post-Conquest culture 341-52
- Prayer of Moses 34
- prepositions, Old English 18-20
- Primus and Felician, Saints, *passio* 343
- Priscian 304
- "prosaic poetry" 245-62
- prose and poetry 245-62
- Prose Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Dialogue* 246
- Prudentius *Psychomachia* 98-99
- Psalter 77-78
- punctuation 320-21
- Quadraginta milites*, saints 38, 41
- Quadrilogus* 370-71
- Ramsey 108-10; *Ramsey Chronicle* 114-15
- rank, Old English words for 111
- Ratoldus, *Sacramentary* of 42
- Regula S. Benedicti* 46
- Relative pronouns in Old English 24-25
- repetition, Old English prose 324-26
- Responsio discipul* 307, 309
- Reynolds, Andrew 95
- rhetoric, Old English 321-40
- rhyme, Old English prose 323-25
- Rievaulx, cartulary of 355, 362
- Robert of Jumièges, *Sacramentary* of 41

- Roberts, Jane 120
 Rochester, use of manuscripts at
 13, 19, 24, 29, 104, 106–8
 Rypins, S. 169
- Sacramentaries 41, 46
 Saints and their cults 31–50, 341–
 52; *see also* individual saints’
 names
 Salisbury Cathedral 341–52
 Savage, Thomas 357–58
 Scandinavian influence 1–11
 Schlutter, Otto 205
 Scragg, Donald 13, 51, 102, 201,
 203–10, 250–53, 285–86
 scribal activity 341–52
Seafarer, *The* 74–76
 sea imagery 3–5
Seasons for Fasting 256
 Sedgefield, W. J. 137–40, 162–66
 Selden, John, jurist 366; *Analec-*
 ton 366–67
 Seven Sleepers, Saints 39, 90, 94
 Sigefyrð 277, 285–300
 Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury
 17, 26, 52–56, 64
 Sigeweard 277
 Simon and Jude, Saints 39
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight
 95, 130
 Sisam, Kenneth 13, 15, 25–26
 Skaldic poetry, influences of 1–11
 Smaragdus 52–65
 Smetana, Cyril 57
 Smith, Thomas, catalogue of 294,
 298
Solomon and Saturn 246
 sources of Old English literature
 1–12, 31–65
- South Park* 99
 Spelman, Henry, *Archaeologus* 359
 Spelman, John, *Psalterium Davidis*
 Latino-Saxonicum vetus 353,
 366
 St Brice’s Day Massacre 272
 Stanley, E. G. 120, 246–47, 251,
 261
 Stiklarstaðir, battle of 3
 Stirnimann, Heinrich 141
 Sveinn, king of Denmark 3
 Swanton, Michael 263
 Swithun, Saint 32, 47–48
 Szarmach, Paul E. 202, 250
- Talbot, Robert 293
Testimonie of Antiquitie, *see* Parker,
 Matthew
 textual emendation 201–10, 311–
 40; transmission 212–18, 341–
 52
 Thomas, Saint, 35
 Thorpe, B. 17
 Three Utterances exemplum 222–
 24
 translation Latin–English, Eng-
 lish–Latin 101–17
 Treharne, Elaine 92
 Tremulous Scribe 266, 273
- Þjóðólfr of Hvin, poet 9
 Þórfinnr munnr, poet 3
- ubi sunt* motif 67–80
 Ure, James 312
- Vedastus, Saint 32, 34, 38, 41–43
Vellekla 10
 verbal parallels 321–40

- Verbs, mood 23-24
Vercelli Book 1-11, 68-71, 92,
201-10, 245-62, 285
verse form, Old English 247-53
Vikings 2
Vincent, Saint 36, 38
Virgil 3
virginity, Ælfric's tract on 290-
300
Virgin Mary, Nativity of 35, 38;
assumption of 289-90; cult of
36

Wace, *Roman de Brut* 121-31
passim
Walkington Wold cemetery 94
Wanderer, *The* 75-78, 148
Wanley, Humphrey, palaeogra-
pher 294, 298
Warton, Thomas 2
water imagery 8-9
Watson, Gerard 141
Watts, William, chaplain of Gon-
ville and Caius 359
Webber, Teresa 342, 344, 348,
351
Weiss, Judith 121
Welsh schools 304-9
Wenisch, F. 220
West Saxon 202, 217-18
Wheelock, Abraham 353
Whitbread, Leslie 252
Whitelock, Dorothy 163, 263-64,
311
Wilcox, Jonathan 317
Wilfred, Saint 351

William I 103
wills 111-14
Winchcombe Sacramentary 41
Winchester vocabulary 27-29,
220; liturgical usage 31-50;
New Minster 36, *Liber Vitae*
308; Old Minster 308, 113-14;
school 301-9
Winter imagery 6-7
Wittig, Joseph 139
Wodnesfeld 3
Wor Barrow cemetery 94
Worcester, use of manuscripts at
21, 263-83, 351-52
Wormald, Francis 33
Wormald, Patrick 264
Wulfgeat 277
Wulfsgie, bishop of Sherbourne
276-77
Wulfstan I, 146, 264-65, 311-40;
Canon Law collection 269-71;
Canons of Edgar 317; homilies
212, 245-62 *passim*; *Institutes*
of Polity 259, 317, 322; law-
codes 316-17; *Sermo Lupi ad*
Anglos 73-74, 317, 321; prose
style 248, 250, 251-53, 264-
65, 313-40
Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of*
St Æthelwold 42, 301-2

Young, Patrick, catalogue of 350
Ywain and Gawain 130-31

Zettel, P. 348
zombies 93-94



Elaine Treharne is Professor of Medieval Literature in the Department of English at the University of Leicester. She is the author of numerous books and articles on Old English literature, including *Old and Middle English: An Anthology* (Oxford, 2000) and *The Old English Life of St Nicholas* (Leeds, 1997). She is Chair of the English Association and Second Vice-President of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists.

Susan Rosser is former Research Fellow in the Department of English at the University of Manchester. She is the author of articles on Old English religious prose.

"In addition to honouring Professor Scragg, this volume will provide an interdisciplinary view of the production, dissemination, and use of written texts in England before the Conquest, and in the centuries following it. It will be an invaluable contribution to current scholarly debate in this area of early medieval culture. These essays include work on the sources and dissemination of prose and verse texts, on palaeography, lexicography and semantics, the editing of manuscripts, and post-Conquest use of Old English texts."

— *From the Editors*

"This is a well-conceived and well-organized book; its editors have clearly done the difficult work of eliciting first-rate contributions from an impressive and diverse list of international contributors. The broad range of topics and the depth and detail of their treatment are a fitting tribute to the scholar in whose honor they are offered. There is no question that this collection will make a significant contribution to the scholarship in the field; it will be welcomed by nearly anyone interested in Old English language and literature, and its various essays will prove to have lasting value."

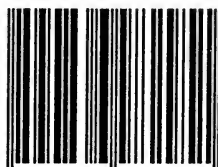
— *Roy Liuzza*

ACMRS:

THE ARIZONA CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
Volume 252

ISBN 0-86698-295-7



9 890866 982951